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Insular sources of thirteenth-century polyphony and the significance of Notre Dame.

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INSULAR SOURCES OF THIRTEENTH-CENTURY POLYPHONY
AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NOTRE DAME

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at King's College, London, 1993



ABSTRACT

The myriad insular sources of 13th-century polyphony have never been discussed comprehensively. This is partly because many have only recently been discovered, but also because their fragmentary state has proved an obstacle to understanding what they represent in terms of repertory, generic ordering, and copying and notational traditions. This study considers such problems, and discusses the relationship between the polyphonic styles of the "Notre-Dame" school and insular music.

There are seven chapters, two appendices and a bibliography. §I discusses the historical interaction of Britain and France, placing the manuscript *W₁* at the crossroads of this relationship. It is argued that as both the earliest datable Notre-Dame source and sole complete surviving insular source of the period, *W₁* has misrepresented the position of insular thirteenth-century polyphony. The appropriateness of the term "Notre-Dame *conductus*" in terms of musical style or geographical accuracy is considered. §II discusses the relationship between paleographical style and the transmission of music in books of polyphony. It goes on to examine the meaning of music copied in miscellanies. §III considers provenance, referring particularly to Anonymous IV's "Westcuntre" school, manuscripts from East Anglia, London and Reading, and the "Worcester fragments." §IV questions whether the manuscripts really show that style or notation are reliable guides for dating, and posits a series of parallel developments, co-existing stylistically and notationally, without contamination from one to the other. Evidence offered by the newly-dated source *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 is contemplated. §V examines the role of genre in insular copying traditions. §VI shows that insular sources of "Notre-Dame" polyphony can illuminate the problems of isolating smaller repertories within fascicles of "Notre-Dame" *conducti*. The final chapter sums up material discussed in §I to §VI. Appendix I catalogues extant thirteenth-century insular sources with contents. Appendix II catalogues compositions from Appendix I by text incipit.

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Several individuals hold me in their debt. This dissertation began under the supervision of Dr. Mark Everist and continued under that of Prof. Reinhard Strohm. Both these scholars kindly read drafts and made perspicacious comments, as did Dr. Peter Lefferts and Dr. William Summers; any errors which remain are entirely my own. Mark Everist gave freely not only of his time but also of his hospitality until the completion of the study. It is he to whom I owe very special thanks. I would also like to thank Professor A. C. de la Mare (King's College, London), Dr. Andrew Wathey (Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London), Mr. Peter Hoare (University of Nottingham) and Dr. Ian Doyle (University of Durham) for their help. A very special thank-you must also go to Irene Auerbach, particularly for her invaluable translations from German, and to Emily Ducker, who helped with some of the tedious tasks associated with cataloguing.

Finally, I thank my partner Toni. Only she, a part-time if not a full-time saint, understands fully when I say that words cannot indicate how much.

Dedicated to the memory
of my father

PREFATORY NOTES

Sources

Except for four manuscripts which are still commonly abbreviated *F*, *W₁*, *W₂* and *Ma*, sources are identified by modern-type *RISM sigla*. All are fully expanded in the bibliography on page 252. In folio references, only a *verso* is indicated, and thus where only a number is given, this indicates a *recto*.

Identification of compositions

a) Conducti mentioned in the text are identified according to Gordon Anderson, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 153-229; 7 (1975) 1-81. In the Catalogue (Appendix 2), they are also, if listed therein, identified by the number given them in Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981).

b) Motets: each part is identified by its number from Friedrich Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, *Summa musicae medii aevi* 2 (Darmstadt: n. p., 1958).

c) Organa are identified by "M" or "O" numbers from Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2 vols (1 (1) - Halle: Verlag von Max Niemaeyer, 1910; *R* [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological studies 7] Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964; 1 (2) - [345-456 ed. Friedrich Gennrich including *R* of "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923) 185 - 222 and 273-315, *Summa musicae medii aevi* 7] Langen bei Frankfurt: n. p., 1961; *R* [345-456], 457-783, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Medieval Music, 1978); (2 - [1-71 ed. Friedrich Gennrich, *Summa musicae*

medii aevi 8 - 65-71 in page proof only] Langen bei Frankfurt: n. p., 1962; *R* [1-64, 65-71 corrected], [72-155 ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, n. d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972).

d) *Chansons* are identified by their numbers in Hans Spanke (ed.), *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes*, Musicologica 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955).

Compositions which are not found in insular sources are identified thus directly in the text. Compositions which are found in insular sources are listed in Appendix 2, where references to the standard catalogue(s) are made at the end of the entry.

Following usage in Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A guide to their organisation and terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), "Gradual" with an upper-case "G" refers to the proper chant of the Mass and "gradual" with a lower-case "g" refers to a book of proper chants for the Mass.

PREFACE

One of the great curiosities of thirteenth-century polyphonic music is the insertion of a *clausula* attributed to Perotin, called *ex semine*, into an English setting of *Alleluya V. Nativitas*.¹ Everything we have conventionally understood about polyphonic music in thirteenth-century England can be symbolised by this single composition. The Parisian *clausula* infiltrates the English chant setting, just as the compositional practices of the school of Notre Dame supposedly infiltrated traditions in England. At the same time, the high insular style grows out of the seed - *ex semine* - of the compositional style of the Notre-Dame school. The tables might, on the other hand, be turned by countering - as Ernest Sanders did thirty years ago² - that Perotin represents a "second generation" of Notre-Dame composers, whose style was considerably influenced by insular practice.

Whether it is true or not to say that musicological study has in recent years moved away from a progressive, or linear, view of history, the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are even in the most recent secondary histories being characterised essentially as the age of the "Notre-Dame" school.³ "Notre-Dame" polyphony is supposed to have

1. *WOc Add. 68, Fragment XVIII*. The embedding was originally described by Pierre Aubry (ed.) in *Cent motets du XIII^e siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg*, 3 vols (Paris: A. Rouart, Lerolle, 1908; R New York: Broude Brothers, 1964). *Alleluya V. Nativitas* has most recently been discussed by John Caldwell (*From the Beginnings to c. 1715*. The Oxford History of English Music, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 40-43; music example on pages 44-46) and previously by Ernest Sanders ("Tonal Aspects of 13th-Century English Polyphony," *Acta musicologica* 37 (1965) 33; *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XIV (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1978) 247; edition on pages 209-212); Jacques Handschin ("The Sumer Canon and its Background," *Musica disciplina* 5 (1951) 69); Luther Dittmer (*Worcester Add. 68, Westminster Abbey 33327, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 192*, Publications of Mediaeval Music Manuscripts 5 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1959) 59; Frank Ll. Harrison (*Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1958) 132-33.

2. Ernest Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964) 265.

3. The two most recent general histories of medieval music firmly sanction the hegemony of the Notre-Dame school: Jeremy Yudkin's *Music in Medieval Europe*, Prentice Hall history of music series (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989) which does not address the question of other geographical areas' involvement with the so-called "Notre-Dame" repertory, and Richard Crocker and David Hiley (eds.), *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*. The New Oxford History of Music (2nd edition: Oxford, etc: Oxford University Press, 1990. Both Janet Knapp's chapter "Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris" (pages 557-635) and Crocker's "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century" (pages 679-720) are discussed below.

represented the summit achievement of the epoch; it culminated with the works of Perotin, who like other "great composers" assimilated compositional techniques from around him to create a new type of masterpiece. Faced with the sheer mastery of *Viderunt omnes* [M 1] and *Sederunt principes* [M 3], the four-part settings attributed to him, this view is in many ways easy to justify. There are the testimonies of theorists such as Anonymous IV and the comparative multiplicity of "Notre-Dame" sources: a small number of phenomena which should never have provided more than a tentative framework around which interpretations might be made. However, beginning with the research of Friedrich Ludwig at the beginning of this century,⁴ they have slowly but inexorably been erected into a massive edifice.

Yet a few doubts are enough to suggest that the structure be toppled. The names Leoninus and Perotinus are transmitted by a verbose and in part almost incomprehensible theorist who lived a century after the first "Notre-Dame" *conducti* were written.⁵ Even if Perotin really did compose *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, was he ever actually attached to the cathedral of Notre Dame?⁶ Was he even necessarily French?

4. A *précis* of Ludwig's writings and editions would be out of place here. The article which perhaps most succinctly sums up his working stance is "Die geistliche nichtliturgische und weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler (Frankfurt am Main: Anstalt, 1924) 157-295.

5. "Anonymous IV," so-called after his designation in Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker (ed.), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols (Milan: Bolletino bibliografico musicale; Paris: A. Durand, 1864-76; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963) 327-65. For a modern edition see Fritz Reckow (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 2 vols, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967).

6. The most recent attempt to identify Leonin and Perotin with personnel from the Cathedral can be found in Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500-1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 281-294. He succeeds perhaps more convincingly in the case of Leonin than Perotin, pointing out that "If it is the rarity of the name Leoninus that allows us to identify the composer of the *Magnus liber organi*, it is similarly the ubiquity of the name Petrus that prevents us from identifying the composer Perotinus" (p. 288). Wright previously wrote on the identity of Leonin in "Leoninus, poet and musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986) 1-35. Several attempts have made to identify Perotin: by Amédée Gastoué, in *Les Primitifs de la musique française* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1922) 19, followed by Rudolph Ficker in *Perotinus: Organum Quadruplum Sederunt Principes* (Vienna and Leipzig: Universal Edition, 1930) 25, and Handschin, in "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," *Acta musicologica* 4 (1932) 10-12; later disagreed with by Yvonne Rokseth in *Polyphonies du Treizieme Siècle: Le Manuscrit H. 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, 4 vols (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-39) IV:50; Günter Birkner, "Notre Dame-Cantoren und -Succentoren vom Ende des 10. bis zum Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higinio Anglés and others (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1962) 122; Hans Tischler, "Perotinus Revisited," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (London, Melbourne and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967) 813-4; "Pérotin," *The New*

Other than the organa of the *Magnus liber*, how much material in what we call the "Notre-Dame" sources really emanated from the cathedral?⁷ Do these questions matter? Should we acknowledge "Notre Dame" as a term which has little to do with the cathedral but rather defines a group of compositions which became "a repertory" through patterns of dissemination? But then, to what extent has the loss of sources from the period reputed to have seen the rise of the "Notre Dame" school obscured artistic cross-fertilization between diverse geographical areas? What does Anonymous IV's treatise really represent? Most importantly for the present study, what hard evidence is there that English styles of the thirteenth century really depended so greatly on the impetus from Paris?

This enquiry into the relationship between "Notre-Dame" and "English" polyphonic music was sparked off by Mark Everist's paper "Anglo-French Interaction, 1170-1300," given first at the Royal Musical Association's Conference on "Anglo-French Interaction in Music" in March 1989.⁸ Although in the final analysis I have come essentially to disagree with his characterisation of the relationship, I cannot over-emphasize the extent to which his preliminary probe gave shape to my own questioning. Another article which influenced much of the thinking behind the enquiry into a repertory which was "uprooted and displaced" is never referred to directly and indeed discusses a different historical period and different geographical areas. This is Reinhard Strohm's "European

Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 14:541, and John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) 1:6. Heinrich Husmann observed that Perotin's books may have been used at the Cathedral but this does not necessarily mean that he worked there; see "The Origin and Destination of the *Magnus liber organi*," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963) 311.

7. Wright's demonstration of the link between the "most complete version of the *Magnus liber organi* [as it is transmitted in *F*] and the chants on which the polyphony is based, coupled with liturgical usage, places the *Magnus liber organi* firmly at Notre Dame Cathedral;" see *Music and Ceremony*, 246-53. This does not, however, signify that the *conducti* in *F* also emanated from the Cathedral.

8. The paper was given subsequently at the Universities of Ohio, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania in September 1991. These later versions, and the version which will eventually be published, differ from that given at the RMA Conference, to some extent as a result of the present study. As later versions of Everist's paper and this study were developed concurrently, they bear a somewhat complicated relationship to each other. I have used the original version as the basis for my comments.

Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth Century," *Early Music History* 1 (1981) 305-323.

The time is also ripe for a more comprehensive discussion of insular thirteenth-century sources which Sanders tacitly acknowledged in his *New Grove* article on the sources of English polyphony from 1270 to 1400. Andrew Wathey's supplementary volume to *RISM BIV*₁₋₂, listing the large number of newly-discovered insular sources, will soon be published. Perhaps more importantly, William Summers's and Peter Lefferts's forthcoming facsimile volume of insular thirteenth-century sources will at last provide an up-to-date photographic collection of the manuscripts of polyphonic music, at present available either piecemeal - of varying quality - or not at all. For this reason, existing facsimiles of the insular sources are not cited.

This study is not primarily, however, devoted to paleographical observation *per se*. The overriding concern is not the objects themselves but the relationships between them. This has often involved a re-examination of evidence which is not in itself new, but whose significance has been overlooked. In this, I make no apology for having focussed more particularly on certain sources than others in an attempt to construct an interpretation of how polyphonic music - foreign and indigenous - operated in thirteenth-century Britain.

§I: BRITAIN AND FRANCE

§I.i: Introduction

For a period of five hundred years, beginning even before the Norman Conquest, the relationship between Britain and France was in a continuous state of flux.¹ After the death of Cnute in 1042, Edward the Confessor was recalled from his Norman exile, and on accession to the throne filled the English Bishoprics with Normans over twenty years before the "Norman Conquest." Just over a century later, Henry Plantagenet had become the most powerful ruler in Europe; by the end of King John's reign in 1216 and the loss of continental possessions, however, the later Plantagenets were no longer "Angevin Emperors" but Kings of England. Henry III's reign saw a period of respite from hostility before the Hundred Years' War began. There is little doubt that for both Britain and France, the whole of the period from Edward the Confessor to Henry VIII cannot be understood for either Britain or France in isolation but rather in terms of interaction.

It is however misleading to see Anglo-French relations solely in terms of mutual antagonism, or, for thirteenth-century Britain, in terms of the "conquered" to the "conqueror," as it has often been defined. It was inevitable that the simplistic idea that England was little more than a satellite of France, having taken over its developments in civilisation wholesale was open to criticism, and the constant contact between these two geographical areas either side of the Channel seen as having provided much that was fruitful to both sides in terms of the intercourse of ideas.² There is no doubt that Norman

1. For this introductory paragraph, I have relied particularly on John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, Foundations of Medieval History (London: Edward Arnold, 1984) and more especially on Malcolm Vale, *The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

2. As long ago as 1922, T. F. Tout recognised this; see *France and England: Their Relations in the Middle Ages and Now*, Historical series no. 40 (Manchester, The University Press, 1922). The most searching discussions are R. W. Southern, "The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 158-80 and the response to this article by Rodney Thomson, "England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Past and Present* 101 (1983) 3-21.

civilisation had an enormous effect on British culture, but it is erroneous to see this entirely as a one-way traffic in ideas. Frank Barlow interprets the Norman influx as swamping the native culture, English scholarship and civilisation being little understood or appreciated by Norman invaders,³ and it is certainly difficult to estimate the degree to which the lands either side of the Channel shared a common cultural language by the turn of the thirteenth century. The situation is best summed up by Rodney Thomson, who points out that

[Northern France and England] formed a homogeneous cultural region...

This does not mean... minimizing or denying regional differentiation and special local characteristics to be found within the Anglo/north French cultural world.⁴

Throughout his article, however, Thomson emphasises the need to examine individual areas of interchange rather than making generalisations so broad as to be almost meaningless. It is timely to review the musical relationship between the two lands.

At the crossroads of this relationship stands a Scottish source, copied for the Cathedral Priory of St Andrews, the main corpus of which transmits music of the "Notre-Dame" school but whose eleventh and last fascicle preserves indigenous works. This manuscript - Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstadiensis 628 (hereafter *W₁*) needs little introduction as it has been so well served by the secondary literature.⁵

3. Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066: a history of the later Anglo-Saxon church* (London: Longman, 1979) 29.

4. Thomson, "England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," 4.

5. The literature on *W₁* up to 1976 is summarized in Edward Roesner, "The Origins of *W₁*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976) 337-39; and up to the present in the most recent article: Mark Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews: The Origin of *W₁*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43 (1990) 2. For a facsimile edition see James H. Baxter, *An Old St. Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628) Published in Facsimile with an Introduction*, St. Andrews University Publications no. 30 (Oxford: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press; Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931).

The historical status of *W_I* is twofold. It is not only the earliest datable surviving book of Notre-Dame polyphony,⁶ but also the earliest datable surviving thirteenth-century insular source of high art polyphony. For the study of Notre-Dame polyphony, *W_I* has provided amongst other things a date by which a Notre-Dame source is easily reconcilable with the repertory it transmits. For the study of insular polyphony, it has effectively overshadowed the fifty or so fragmentary sources⁷ which constitute all that remains of the books of polyphonic music from thirteenth-century Britain. It is this fact above all which has probably contributed to the belief in the dependency of high insular polyphony on the Notre-Dame style. The belief has persisted despite the fact that although no other insular source is securely datable from before the 1250s,⁸ this is no later than date advanced for the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1 (hereafter *F*), the largest source containing Notre-Dame polyphony.⁹ Seen in terms of the whole corpus of insular sources of polyphonic music, the survival of *W_I* is fortuitous and atypical. No sources, either insular or Parisian, survive from the period during which the Notre-Dame repertory was written; there is therefore no way of gauging the extent to which an insular tradition may have contributed to the Notre-Dame style. Under these circumstances, it is easy to see how *W_I* has been seized upon too eagerly for evidence of what type of polyphony was cultivated in Britain "before" the evolution of a genuinely insular style.¹⁰

6. The latest dating puts *W_I* in the 1230s: see Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," 3-8.

7. Thirteenth-century insular sources of polyphony are listed in Appendix 1.

8. The datable insular source *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* + *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 is discussed in §IV,iii.

9. Rebecca A. Baltzer suggested a date between 1245 and 1255 for *F* on the basis of the illuminated initials in "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 25 (1972) 15.

10. The most recent contribution to our understanding of polyphony in thirteenth-century Britain is provided by the opening chapters of Caldwell, *From the Beginnings to c. 1715*. Caldwell shows exemplary caution in determining *W_I*'s role, commenting that "The St Andrews manuscript, fascinating and important though it is, lies off the main course of English thirteenth-century music in so far as this can be discerned from the surviving material." Caldwell goes on to say that "the main centres of interest were Benedictine houses... their repertory, while related to contemporary French methods, developed on indigenous lines" (p. 28). It is unfortunate that these comments, which seem neutral enough out of context, are preceded by a lengthy introduction to this part of Chapter 1 (pages 23-26) concerned with Parisian developments. This does tend to reinforce preconceptions about the dependence of insular

It must also be remembered that the chronology posited for the development of Notre-Dame polyphony rests mainly on the presumption that Bishop Odo of Sully's edicts of 1198 and 1199,¹¹ which permitted the performance of four-part polyphony for the graduals of the feasts of the Circumcision and St. Stephen, refer to Perotin's settings of *Viderunt omnes* and *Sederunt principes*. Everist has pointed out that *Viderunt* is (principally) a Gradual for the Nativity, equally appropriate for its octave, the feast of the Circumcision, but that the placement of *Viderunt* before *Sederunt* in the extant manuscripts suggests that the compiler considered it principally a Nativity piece.¹² The evidence that Perotinian polyphony was in place at the Cathedral of Notre Dame by 1199 is actually rather slim. Such reminders are not by any means over-cautious, especially as many other scholars are eager use equally fragile evidence in the effort to assert the primacy of the Notre-Dame school. Janet Knapp has used the well-known comments from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* to postulate that by 1140 "the French capital had become the centre of a lively musical culture."¹³ In contrast, Andrew Hughes suggests that

John may have been referring to polyphonic music, perhaps of the Notre Dame school... [his] complaints about polyphony are very similar to those of his contemporary Aelred of Rievaulx, and since they were written long after John's residence in France, and before his exile [with

polyphony on the Notre Dame style as it implies the necessity of familiarity with the latter to understand the former. Nevertheless, this is a considerable move forward from Crocker's assertion that "Our first concern... is to see that English polyphony combines the novelties of Notre-Dame style with more traditional features of polyphony as practised by *cathedral* musicians" ("Polyphony in England," 679).

11. The first edict is reproduced in M. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'Église Notre-Dame de Paris*, 4 vols, Collection des cartulaires de France 4-7 (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850). The second is edited in Denis de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum franciae vicinarumque ditonum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem appositis*, 16 vols (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard and others, 1715-1865) 7:78.

12. Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, (New York: Garland, 1990) 1-5.

13. Janet Knapp, "Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris," *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley. The New Oxford History of Music (2nd edition: Oxford, etc: Oxford University Press, 1990) 557-558.

Thomas Becket], they may offer evidence of the existence of complex polyphonic styles in England at that time.¹⁴

Knapp in effect follows R. W. Southern in preferring Paris to England as the focus of John's description, as he seems to have written the *Policraticus* on his return to England in 1147 after a ten-year period in France, though it was not presented to Thomas Becket until 1159;¹⁵ Southern's rejection of John's work as "English" has however been questioned by Rodney Thomson, who points out faults in Southern's definition of both "englishness" and "frenchness."¹⁶ In fact, although John's comments have also been taken as evidence of the cultivation of high art polyphony in England, it is not necessarily correct to assume that John was talking about polyphony at all. He speaks only of

sectio vel geminatio notularum, ea replicatio articulorum
singulorumque consolidatio, sic acuta vel acutissima gravibus et
subgravibus temporatur, ut auribus sui iudicii fere subtrahatur
auctoritas...¹⁷

dividing or doubling of the notes *and the repetitions of the
phrases and their incorporation one by one*; the high and very

14. Andrew Hughes, "John of Salisbury," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 9:673-4.

15. R. W. Southern, "Humanism and the School of Chartres," *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 61.

16. Rodney Thomson, "England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," 20-21. The more specific target of Thomson's critique here is Southern's "The Place of England in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance."

17. Clemens C. I. Webb (ed.), *Ioannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909) 41.

high notes are so tempered with low or somewhat low that one's
very ears lose the power to discriminate... [emphasis added].¹⁸

Sarah Fuller points out - in the same volume of studies as Knapp - that such "scattered comments... tend to be diatribes against presumptuous vocal display, not descriptions of music,"¹⁹ and given the problems in evaluating the type of evidence which John supplies, her caution is well founded. John's comments do not unequivocally refer to polyphony. They could well refer to nothing more than responsorial singing, performed in a particularly soloistic manner. If the comments do refer to polyphony, the description he offers is as close to *rota* or even *rondellus* as to Notre-Dame polyphony. John's terminology is difficult to quantify since what he gives is a layman's view, without reference to contemporary theory.

More "scattered comments" filter down to us from the writings of Aelred of Rievaulx. Unlike the widely-travelled John of Salisbury, Aelred virtually did not stray from the north of England except when he was chosen as envoy to Rome in 1142 over the disputed election of William of York.²⁰ He offers descriptions of church music which are similar in tone to John's in his first work, the *Speculum caritatis*, an analysis of the religious life which appears to have been written on the orders of Bernard of Clairvaux, to whose attention the young Aelred had been drawn during the journey of the latter either to or from the papal *curia*. Like John, he decries the use of elaborate music, but there can be no doubt that Aelred is actually referring to polyphony as he describes different things which happen at the same time. Even if we were to accept that John was culturally "French," there can in any case be no *possibility* that Aelred was influenced by

18. Joseph Brown Pike, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1938) 32.

19. Sarah Fuller, "Early Polyphony," *The Early Middle Ages to 1300. The New Oxford History of Music* vol. 2, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley (2nd edn.: Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 553.

20. Sir Henry Maurice Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel*, (Manchester: The University Press, 1922) 44.

John's writing, since the former composed *Speculum caritatis* in 1142-3 and the latter *Polycraticus* not earlier than 1147. Aelred wrote:

Hic succinit, ille discinit, alter medias quasdam notas dividit et incidit. Nunc vox stringitur, nunc frangitur, nunc impingitur nunc diffusiori sonitu dilatatur... Videas aliquando hominem aperto ore quasi intercluso halitu exspirare, non cantare, ac ridiculosa quadam vocis interceptione quasi minitari silentium.²¹

This one sings below, the other doubly, another divides and cuts into certain middle notes. Now the voice hurries, now it breaks, now it is thrust into another, now spread out in extended sound... You may sometimes see a man open-mouthed, not in order to sing but as if he were expiring by shutting in his breath, with a ridiculous interception of his voice as if to threaten silence.

Both men *may* be describing a "high" polyphonic tradition; if they are, how can this be related to manuscript survivals? Christopher Page proposes:

Even the fragmentary remains of English polyphony from [that time] are sufficient to convey a vivid impression of what John may mean.²²

Page's choice of source (*Cu* Ff. 1. 17), supposedly showing an example of this, is highly dubious. He cites a two-part piece from *Cu* Ff. 1. 17, *Exultemus et letemur* [P24], as an example of what John may have found so offensive. This is doubly dangerous ground on

21. Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *B. Aelredus Abbas Rievallensis. Opera omnia. Wolbero abbas S. Pantaleonis Colon. Eckbertus Abbas Schonaugiensis. Henricus Archidiac. Huntingdon. Odo de Deogilo Abbas S. Dionys. Bertrandus de Blancesfort Templar. Magister. Patrologiae cursus completus series secunda* 195 (Paris: J.-P. Migne Editor, 1855) 571.

which to base comments on national style since the English provenance not only of the repertory it transmits but of *Cu Ff. 1. 17* itself is a matter of speculation. John Stevens seems to favour insular provenance;²³ Malyshko assumes English provenance without discussion.²⁴ Fuller states that the manuscript was "probably copied in Northern France."²⁵ Bryan Gillingham does not effectively separate the two issues of provenance of the source and provenance of the repertory in his facsimile edition.²⁶ The best we can say about *Ff. 1. 17* is that it is as English as John of Salisbury.

In one sense, though, the issues which these quotations from John and Aelred raise do not impinge upon that which is discussed here: not whether polyphonic music was cultivated in Britain before the influx of the Notre-Dame style, but in what way the arrival of Notre-Dame music affected insular compositional procedure. By examining sources of Notre-Dame polyphony which survive from thirteenth-century Britain - with particular reference to other, indigenous repertory which has been transmitted in the same sources - but more particularly, through the examination of these manuscripts alongside English sources which transmit unique, apparently English music, we will see that it is unconvincing and specious to argue that the development of the high English style can only be understood with reference to Notre-Dame music. This is obviously an endeavour beset with problems, not least of which is to define the extent to which style should determine sub-generic classification of the enormously diverse repertory which

22. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1989) 4.

23. John Stevens, "University Library MS *Ff. i. 17* (1)," *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900-1700* ed, Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 43-44.

24. Olga Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory: A Study of Style," (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1989) 2.

25. Fuller, "Early Polyphony," 584.

26. Bryan Gillingham, *Cambridge, University Library, Ff. i. 17* (1). *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts* no. 17 (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989). This facsimile edition includes a bibliography to 1989 and also lists the extensive concordances of this source with the European repertories.

has traditionally been considered under the term "Notre-Dame *conductus*."²⁷ There has been little hesitation in suggesting that a distinctive insular style had emerged by the end of the thirteenth century, with claims of a homogeneity of musical culture at the turn of the thirteenth. But it must be pointed out that isolating an insular style for that later period has only been possible on the basis of manuscript survival and concordance patterns. If the Montpellier manuscript (*F-MO* H. 196) had appeared with as little evidence of its "antecedent sources" as *W₁* or *F*, no-one would ever have suggested that some of the motets in *F-MO* H. 196 were English; such a suggestion was only ever possible on the basis of concordances in insular sources.²⁸

From the list of surviving repertory from thirteenth-century Britain (see Appendix 1), some statistical information can be abstracted. It must be stressed that this can only be of very limited value, partly because what remains is so fragmentary both in terms of the entire source and the individual composition, and partly because genre-definition is difficult enough even when it is based on more than one surviving voice. The list includes pieces and fragments of pieces from the sources which could be described as the remains of purpose-written books of polyphony, including the binding material from volumes at Worcester Chapter Library known as the "Worcester fragments." It also includes polyphony found in commonplace books: in many ways these offer a wider range of generic and certainly of linguistic types than the more limiting remnants of

27. The primary exhaustive study of stylistic groups within *conductus* fascicles was Eduard Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame-Conductus* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1939). Robert Falck's *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1981) is, as he states, "in some sense... a revised and up-dated version of... Gröninger" (p. i). Vincent Justus Corrigan's "The Style of the Notre-Dame *conductus*" (PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1980) separates stylistic features of the Notre-Dame *conductus* and discusses them under headings.

28. See Handschin, "The Sumer Canon," (1951) 66-88; Ernst Apfel, *Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik*, 2 vols, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historisch Klasse 5 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter; Universitätsverlag, 1959) 1:31; *ibidem*, "Über einige Zusammenhänge zwischen Text und Musik im Mittelalter," *Acta musicologica* 33 (1961), 50; related to this, see also Luther Dittmer, "Binary Rhythm, Musical Theory and the Worcester Fragments," *Musica disciplina* 7 (1953) 41-43, and Sanders's response in "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962) 259-60 n. 45; *ibidem*, "Peripheral polyphony," 266ff.

polyphonic books. This gives a total of two hundred and ninety four pieces. We can classify these in four basic ways: by number of parts (where determinable), by genre (e.g. *conductus*, motet, chant setting), by sub-genre (e.g. motet on a *pes*, English *conductus* with *cauda*, troped Alleluya setting) and by musical technique (e.g. voice-exchange motet, *rondellus* Kyrie trope). There are seventeen pieces of simple polyphony, or about five per cent. Seventy-eight pieces are chant settings and troped chant settings, or about a quarter. There are about fifty-five motets without continental concordances, a few of which are isorhythmic, thirty-three of which constructed over a *pes*, and nineteen of which are built on a *cantus firmus*: around a fifth of the total. Another thirty-three pieces, or about eleven percent, are "English *conducti*," in other words those which contain some or all of the characteristics which only occur in works found in insular manuscripts, particularly *rondellus* and triadic movement. Excluding *W₁*, Notre-Dame *conducti*, *organa* and motets constitute only about a tenth of the total surviving repertoire from this period. *W₁* has probably been guilty of over-representing the Notre Dame presence in Britain.

§I.ii: "Notre-Dame" polyphony

We will examine more precisely the meaning and implications of the term "Notre-Dame polyphony" later, only suggesting at this point that the polyphonic repertoires covered by the term need not necessarily have provided as much of the impetus behind the thirteenth-century high insular polyphonic style as has been suggested by the secondary literature. This is a question of creation, however, and does not impinge on the issue of cultivation. It would be a mistake to denigrate the important role Notre Dame polyphony obviously played in the musical life of thirteenth-century Britain, or to deny its presence alongside indigenous types of polyphonic music.

There is little problem in defining the Notre-Dame *organum purum*, either in terms of function or style - a florid setting of the solo parts of the main responsorial chants of the

Mass and Office. The *conductus* is much more problematic, despite the fact that there is a reasonable consensus of opinion as to the type of song referred to by the term. It has often been classified, through its root *conducere*, as a piece which was originally designed to accompany movement inside or outside the church, but which later lost this processional function and came to apply to any freely-composed serious or sacred Latin song, monophonic or polyphonic.²⁹ It is still easiest to characterise a "Notre-Dame" *conductus* as anything which is not a motet or organum, as Robert Falck does;³⁰ unlike these other species of composition, *conductus* does not imply any compositional procedure,³¹ and as opposed to chant-based pieces, *conducti* are freely composed. *Conducti* are on the whole not strictly liturgical, though some liturgical settings are found amongst the *conductus* repertory;³² John Stevens has argued for a terminological distinction between true *conducti*, whose texts indicate a para-liturgical function for specific feasts, and pieces with merely serious texts which, though found intermingled in the sources with true *conducti*, do not have a function within the church: the latter would then be designated *cantio*.³³ These problems of nomenclature have arisen mainly because no contemporary definitions of the term exist, and rubrics matching specific pieces may be of local interest only; Stevens notes that "the medieval use of these terms

29. For an examination of the meaning of the term, see Fritz Reckow, "Conductus," *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972-) which still nevertheless omits serious discussion of the English *conductus*. It should be used in conjunction with Bryan Gillingham, "A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus," *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer* ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Meckley. Musicological Studies 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1990) 100-117. The most notable among earlier discussions is Leonard Ellinwood, "The Conductus," *Musical Quarterly* 27 (1941) 165-204.

30. Gillingham discusses Falck's and other definitions in "A New Etymology," 101.

31. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 4.

32. For instance, *Adiuva nos deus* (*W_J*, folio 135^v); *Alma redemptoris mater* (*F*, folio 329; *Ma*, folio 99); *Ave Maria gratia plena*: *F*, folio 284^v; *W_J*, folio 136; *W₂*, folio 114^v; *Ma*, folio 59^v; *D-HEu*; *CH-SO* S. 231, folio A); *Pater noster* (*F*, folio 125; *W_J*, folio 113^v; *W₂*, folio 112^v; *Ma*, folio 116; *Llp* 752); *Salve sancta parens enixa* (*Ma*, folio 100^v).

33. John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 51.

would be a study in itself - profitable but not necessarily conclusive."³⁴ Not least of the problems is that *conductus* is applied to two historically different traditions: the Aquitainian and the "Notre-Dame"; if it is difficult to isolate clear-cut characteristics by which a *conductus* can be distinguished, the term "Notre-Dame" *conductus* is if anything harder to classify meaningfully. We now think of Notre-Dame *conducti* as those pieces found in the *conductus* fascicles of the four big Notre-Dame manuscripts - *F*, *W*₁, *W*₂ and *Ma* - partly because the theorist Anonymous IV describes volumes of *conducti* which ostensibly seem to fit this description:

... Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus sicut *Salvatoris hodie* et *Relegentur ab area* et similia... Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudibus ut *Ave Maria* antiquum in duplo et *Pater noster commiserans*... Est et quintum volumen de quadruplicibus et triplicibus et duplicibus sine caudis, quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores...³⁵

... The third volume is of triple *conducti* that have *caudae* like "Salvatoris hodie" and "Relegentur ab area" and similar ones... And there is another volume of double *conducti* that have *caudae* like the ancient "Ave Maria" in *duplum* and "Pater noster commiserans"... And there is a fifth volume of quadruple, triple and duple [*conducti*] without *caudae*, which used to be much used by minor singers...³⁶

34. Stevens, *Words and Music*, 51.

35. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, I:82.

36. Jeremy Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory: A Study of Terminology, Including a New Translation of the Music Treatise of Anonymous IV" (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1982) 221-222; now published as *The Music*

However, Everist has observed that the term "*volumen*" as opposed to *liber* can refer either to a physical subdivision of a book (that is, a quire or fascicle) or to an abstract "collection" or "repertory," and that "only rarely do Anonymous IV's subdivisions correspond with repertorial and codicological subdivisions in [*F* and *W*₂]." ³⁷ It must also be remembered that Anonymous IV was writing in about 1280³⁸ - at the end of the period in which the Notre-Dame *conductus* was still being performed, possibly over a century after the first *conducti* were written.³⁹ The usage of the term had by then undoubtedly changed, since Grocheo gives as examples of *conductus simplex* - for him synonymous with a *cantus coronatus* - what we would now call *chansons*: *Quant li roussignol* [1559] and *Ausi com l'unicorne* [2075].⁴⁰ Anonymous IV's understanding of the tradition may have been dubious. Not all "Notre-Dame" *conducti* are likely actually to have been composed at the cathedral, and the usefulness of "Notre-Dame *conductus*" as an umbrella-term is questionable from the point of view of geographical accuracy as well as of style.

Bryan Gillingham argues against the narrow definition of *conducere* - "to lead" or "escort" - and contrasts the performance practice of a group of singers "joining together" instead of resorting to *alternatim* as was required in the sequence, suggesting that the *conductus* in its earliest stages was a compression or hybrid of the hymn and sequence; by this token, the primary meaning of the verb *conducere* and its participial or

Treatise of Anonymous IV: A New Translation, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (American Institute of Musicology: n. p., 1985).

37. Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 158.

38. See Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory," 232-238.

39. The earliest datable clutch of *conducti* were written in the decade 1180-1190; see Ernest Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam von seinem Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1984) 521 for a list of datable *conducti*.

40. See Ernst Rohloff (ed.), *Der Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* (Media Latinitas Musica II (Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag Gebrüder Reinecke, 1943); translated in Albert Seay, *Johannes de Grocheo Concerning Music (De musica)* Colorado College Music Press Translations 1 (Colorado College Music Press: Colorado Springs, 1973) 16.

substantive, "a contraction," is reflected.⁴¹ This theory does not rule out the possibility of processional function as well, and can apply to both the Aquitainian and "Notre-Dame" repertoires.

§1.iii: The *conductus* in England

Frank Ll. Harrison was responsible for much of the pioneering work on the liturgical placement of the *conductus* in England. He suggested that in some parts of England, the *conductus* functioned mainly as *Benedicamus Domino* substitute for the Office on certain feast-days.⁴² Harrison drew especially on Bishop Grandisson's Exeter Ordinal, which contains detailed and specific directions as to the use of polyphonic substitutes according to the feast and its rank: greater doubles, lesser doubles, semi-doubles, Sundays and ferias. Polyphony could be performed in place of the *Benedicamus* at Vespers and Matins and after the Sanctus at Mass. Grandisson specifies that the singing of a polyphonic substitute is allowed at Lauds and Vespers on Easter Day and at first Vespers of Trinity Sunday. Harrison also drew on the Black Book of Lincoln, which specifies procedures to be adopted should the *Benedicamus* be replaced by a polyphonic piece.⁴³ Ann Walters Robertson suggests that the *Benedicamus* tradition was still fluid at this time and still open to further codification, and that the prestigious place it held in the liturgy was partly explained by its soloistic manner of performance.⁴⁴ Certainly the presence of organal *Benedicamus* settings among festive *conducti* in one of the *conductus* fascicles of the Scottish source *W₁* does suggest that this part of the fascicle was put together with a view to function, and the complex style of the *conducti* among

41. Gillingham "A New Etymology and Etiology," 112.

42. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 124; *ibidem*, "Benedicamus, Conductus, Carol: A New Source," *Acta musicologica* 37 (1965) 35-48.

43. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, 109-111.

44. Ann Walters Robertson, "Benedicamus Domino: the Unwritten Tradition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988) 1-58.

which the *Benedicamus Domino* settings are found bear out the suggestion that they were for especially festive occasions. There is sizeable proportion which rail against corruption in the church - these bear witness to a tradition which also manifested itself in the many fourteenth-century *Deo gratias/Ite missa* motets which admonish.⁴⁵ Ruth Steiner points out that they are close in spirit to the contemporary sermon, and considers that they are more likely to have been associated with the University of Paris than the Church.⁴⁶ However, it still remains difficult to see how these admonitory pieces came to be copied side-by-side with songs in praise of the Church, and the miscellaneous nature of *conductus* fascicles in terms of function is still a problem which needs to be addressed.

As we have stated, the proportion of Notre-Dame *conducti* surviving in insular sources needs to be put into perspective. Nevertheless, there are not only numerous examples of Notre-Dame *conducti* in thirteenth-century insular sources: the sources themselves, indicating their cultivation in Britain alongside indigenous species of polyphonic music, comprise several different types. Firstly, there are the extant music manuscripts themselves, of which *W_I* is the most famous.⁴⁷ Secondly, there are insular sources which preserve the texts, though not the music, of Notre-Dame *conducti*.⁴⁸ Thirdly, there are "ghost" books of Notre-Dame polyphony: volumes which were recorded in contemporary (medieval) inventories, but which can unfortunately no longer be

45. I am grateful to Reinhard Strohm for pointing to this area, which needs to be addressed in more detail in another study.

46. Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed Around 1200," *Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966) 59-62.

47. The other sources are *Cjec* QB. 1, *Ob* Wood 591, *Llp* 752, *Lbl* Harley 524 and *Lbl* Harley 5393, discussed in §II. *Occ* 497 and *Owc* 213* (*olim* 3. 16(A)*) contain one song apiece, both of which have been included in inventories of Notre Dame *conducti* but which are debatably not Notre Dame *conducti* (*Quis tibi* is discussed in §II,ii, *Ave tuos benedic* in §III). I do not include in the discussion here *Cu* Ff. 1. 17 for two reasons: First, the three "Notre Dame" *conducti* belong not to the polyphonic Notre Dame tradition but to the trans-European monophonic tradition: although they are found in *F*'s tenth fascicle, this fascicle largely transmits unique monodies or else songs which are also found in non-Notre Dame manuscripts. It is really a distinct tradition. Second, as discussed above, the designation of this source as "insular" is not universally supported.

48. *Ob* Add. A. 44 and *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510, discussed in §VI,i.

identified with surviving sources.⁴⁹ In fact, it was England which hosted the earliest known book of apparently Notre-Dame polyphony. The 1255 inventory from St. Paul's cathedral contains a reference to a "liber organorum W. de Faukeberge perpulcrum est incipiens *Viderunt*."⁵⁰ This could well be the four-part Perotin setting of the Nativity Gradual. William de Fauconberg was identified in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's* of 1658 as the treasurer of St. Paul's in the late 1220s,⁵¹ and thus his ownership of a Notre-Dame book may pre-date even *W₁*. Lastly, two English theorists - "Anonymous IV" and Walter Odington - deal extensively with Parisian theoretical developments; the earlier Anonymous IV gives examples of *organum* and *conductus* from the Notre-Dame repertory, whereas the later Odington includes motets which are found in *F-MO* H. 196 and *D-BAs* Lit. 115.⁵²

Two types of musical source preserve Notre-Dame *conducti* in Britain: the commonplace book, to which a single *conductus* has been added, and the purpose-written book of polyphony. Into the former category fall two sources in the British Library, Harleian manuscripts 524 and 5393. Into the latter category falls *W₁*, plus three other insular sources; like *W₁*, all three also transmit insular *conducti* alongside Notre-Dame pieces. These are *Cjec* QB. 1, *Ob* Wood 591 and the more recently-discovered Lambeth Palace MS 752. While scholarship has tended to focus either on the polyphony of England or of France - with Scotland falling uncomfortably between those two stools

49. There were several owners of Notre Dame manuscripts in Britain, though of some of these may only have been books of *organum*, not *conductus*. See Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners: Lost and Found," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 380-399, and discussion of St. Paul's volumes below.

50. Andrew Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony in England: A List to 1500," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 21 (1988) 7.

51. Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London*, 326-27; quoted in Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners," 381.

52. For a modern edition of Anonymous IV, see Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*; for a translation from this edition, see Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory." For a modern edition of Walter Odington, see Frederick F. Hammond (ed.), *Walter Odington. Summa de speculatione musicae*. Corpus Scriptorum Musicae 14 (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970); for a translation, see Jay A. Huff, *Walter Odington (born c. 1278). A Translation of Part VI of De Speculatione Musica*. Musicological Studies and Documents 31 (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

- the relationship between insular and continental repertoires in thirteenth-century Britain has seldom been explored.⁵³ Otherwise, much research has dealt with English music in French sources, concentrating on attempts to "recover" English pieces from French sources (particularly in the case of some motets in *F-MO* H. 196) or show the presence of "English" characteristics in "French" music.⁵⁴ This has sometimes involved adducing evidence from topical pieces, which can be dated and placed, to codify stylistic traits which can then be sought out in non-topical pieces.⁵⁵ Often, though, this dating and placing has been far from secure, although this has not proved a deterrent to scholars anxious to posit chronologies and pin down ethnically-conditioned differences.⁵⁶

One of the "English characteristics" most crucial to the discussions has been the interval of the third, not a primary consonance to anyone but Anonymous IV's men of the "Westcuntre"⁵⁷ and, possibly, Giraldus Cambrensis's people of the north country.⁵⁸

53. Harrison's chapter "The Polyphony of the Liturgy" from his study *Music in Medieval Britain*, a work which still stands as a huge achievement in this field, remains in many ways unsurpassed. Inevitably some of the discussion is out-of-date, but Harrison deals more sensitively with the question of French music in Britain than many writers since. There have been disagreements over some of the points raised: see particularly Walters Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*," and Harrison does lean too heavily on certain sources - for instance, the Black Book of Lincoln - to make general points on the place of polyphony in the liturgy.

54. Sanders sums up the whole question of English influence on Notre Dame music in "Peripheral Polyphony," but while attempting to elucidate the question of "patterns of influence," still obscures the main issue which should surely be seen in terms of interaction, not influence, of the insular style - which Sanders is right in claiming to be characteristic - with the Notre Dame, either in Britain or in Paris. His very use of the term "peripheral," which he stresses is not in this case *perjorative*, highlights this. Roger Wibberley notes that "the historical position of English thirteenth-century polyphony relative to France has always been rather enigmatic to modern scholars" ("English Polyphonic Music of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary" (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 1976) 38).

55. See especially Sanders, "Style and Technique."

56. For the most searching discussion of this, see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 1-30.

57. See Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 78; Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory," 216.

58. There has been much discussion as to what exactly Gerald of Wales was referring to when he described singing in the north. He said of the Welsh that "In musico modulamine non uniformiter ut alibi sed multipliciter multisque modis et modulis cantilenas emittunt" (When making music together they do not sing their songs uniformly as elsewhere but in parts with many modes and melodic lines...); he then says that the people of the North do this but only with two parts, referring also to the Danes and Norwegians. Lloyd Hibberd, "Giraldus Cambrensis on Welsh Popular Singing," *Essays in Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison by his Associates*, no ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1957) 17-23 maintains that Giraldus was referring to heterophonic

Taking this insular predilection for the third as self-evident, Handschin contended that the *conductus* had deeper roots in England than did the type of *Choralbearbeitung* (*organum*) "invented" by the school of Notre Dame, and that this, coupled with the fact that the *conductus* was connected [stylistically?] with secular music, resulted in the interval of a third being used more as a consonance than it was in *organum*.⁵⁹ Handschin and Rokseth had noted that *Stimmtausch* (or voice-exchange) occurred in *caudae* of Notre-Dame *conducti*, and Tischler pointed out that this device, "widely discussed as an English characteristic... can be traced on the Continent as early as 1140."⁶⁰ Sanders, picking up most particularly on Handschin and Tischler, considered there was a strong indication that "English influence had a considerable share in the shaping of the musical style of the second Notre-Dame generation."⁶¹ Speaking of the motet, though, he cautioned against the growing habit of terming characteristics common to many "peripheral" - i.e. non Parisian - repertoires "English," and singled out *Stimmtausch* (voice-exchange) as "one technique of the thirteenth century that is decidedly English and not peripheral." The implication that voice-exchange "became" an English characteristic, having "started" as a Parisian one is a typical example of the problems which scholars have faced in isolating styles and connecting them with chronology - but perhaps some of those problems have grown, not lessened, through attempts to pigeonhole characteristics which should have been allowed to remain more fluid.

Although Sanders's comments were in part a reaction to Crocker's deprecation of English contribution to the Notre-Dame style,⁶² it does now seem that a more cautious

singing. See also Shai Burstyn, "Gerald of Wales and the *Sumer Canon*," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983) 135-50 and *ibidem*, "Is Gerald of Wales a Credible Musical Witness?," *Musical Quarterly* 62 (1986) 155-96.

59. Jacques Handschin, "Conductus-Spicilegien," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 113-118.

60. Hans Tischler, "English Traits in the Early 13th-Century Motet," *Musical Quarterly* 30 (1944) 465.

61. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 265.

62. Richard Crocker, review of Hans Joachim Moser's *Die Tonsprachen des Abendlandes*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962) 101.

attitude towards real or imagined ethnic differences should be taken, and that a more imaginative approach to questions of reception and influence is needed. Everist took a step towards this by speaking of the relationship between "France" and "England" in terms of interaction, not influence, and by reviewing the presence of "French" music in English sources, to counteract what had previously been a somewhat one-way discussion.⁶³ Everist's discussion centered particularly on "Notre-Dame" *conducti* and motets in insular sources, with emphasis on the topical *conducti* which have been claimed by Robert Falck to be English (this is discussed more fully in §VI,ii).⁶⁴ To some extent, though, such a stance can be seen as a counter-reaction; Handschin, Tischler, Sanders *et al* were in effect arguing the case for "English influence" because, since Ludwig, the supremacy of the Parisian style had remained unchallenged.⁶⁵

The stylistic differences between insular and Notre-Dame music have recently been re-examined in Olga Malyshko's dissertation "The English Conductus Repertory: A Study of Style." One of the main points of her work is to show the crucial role of dissonance in the generation of drive and tension, and that dissonance in the English conductus repertory assumes a different structural role from that in the Notre-Dame repertory owing to different patterns of strong- and weak-beat occurrence.⁶⁶ Malyshko uses the dating and placing of topical pieces - whose geography is not as clear-cut as it would be

63. See "Anglo-French Interaction in Music, 1170-1300."

64. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 89-96.

65. The extent to which Ludwig's research early this century on Notre Dame polyphony shaped almost indelibly our understanding of thirteenth-century music cannot be underestimated. The picture might have been entirely different, however. Dom Anselm Hughes reports: "While I was at Worcester, [the Chapter Librarian] told me how Friedrich Ludwig had been calling, not so long before, hat in hand, asking to have photographs of the newly-discovered manuscripts and permission to publish the results of his studies. Apparently Wilson was not favourably impressed by Ludwig, and declined to give permission, telling me afterwards that he saw no reason on earth why we should let a foreign scholar come in and reap the benefits of editing what we could perfectly well do for ourselves in England" (see Anselm Hughes, *Septuagesima* (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1953) 26. That Ludwig was turned away, and thus did not have the opportunity to discuss insular music alongside Notre Dame, has probably been the largest single reason why scholars still have to press for the recognition of the importance of insular music in the thirteenth century.

66. This matter is at the heart of Malyshko's "The English Conductus Repertory."

convenient to suppose - to bolster arguments about style, which are then in danger of becoming circular. While she has exemplified many details from the genuinely insular repertory, she takes the evidence of the theorists to ascertain what would have been considered standard practice in France - instead of examining the entire Notre-Dame and related repertories in order to isolate what she finds characteristically "English" in the use of dissonance. The study remains unconvincing for other reasons: partly because Malyshko does not discuss her editorial methods, a vital factor for the transcriptions on which her arguments rest; but perhaps more importantly, because early evidence for the "characteristic" English use of dissonance is not discussed. Some hesitation would be called for in attributing pieces geographically on the stylistic grounds Malyshko suggests.

If what the uprooting and displacement of Notre-Dame repertory signified *for* its new environment is hard to clarify, it is easier to identify what it signified *about* its new environment. Sometimes, sophisticated Notre-Dame *conducti* occur in insular sources alongside very simple indigenous compositions, and when pieces of widely differing styles are preserved side-by-side, there has been some reluctance to acknowledge the possibility of their coexistence without the necessity of influence; or, put another way, that compositional activity in Britain has sometimes been seen as a provincial response to a more sophisticated style rather than a distinct tradition which was genuinely valued.⁶⁷ All four extant polyphonic sources of the "Notre-Dame" *conductus* in Britain also contain unique, apparently insular pieces, of which the latter show a wide variety of styles. As we have already suggested, however, the very use of the term "Notre-Dame *conductus*" glosses over the enormous range of styles which it covers, and it would be a mistake to view these Notre-Dame *conducti* as more homogeneous than the insular pieces. As stated above, we now think of the Notre-Dame *conductus* as including those pieces included in the *conductus* fascicles of the "Notre-Dame" manuscripts, as

67. Witness the discussion over date and style of the music of main corpus and the eleventh fascicle of *W₁*, discussed in §V,ii.

described by Anonymous IV, but this superficial classification masks a confused collection of works which are anything but consistent in style (musical and textual) or function.

These questions of interrelation will be uppermost in mind during the discussions presented here, as will also, and not least, the questions which the insular sources of Notre-Dame *conducti* raise about the context into which they fit. In fact, the repertories preserved by *Llp* 752, *Cjec* QB. 1 and *Ob* Wood 591 - Notre-Dame *conducti* side-by-side with insular pieces - also shed light on several other questions: fashion, or the relationship between style and chronology in thirteenth-century sources, repertorial subdivision of the *conductus* fascicles in Notre-Dame manuscripts, and the copying traditions evinced by insular, compared with continental, collections.

§II: SOURCES

§II.i: Books Of Polyphony

We have characterised musical sources of this period as divisible into two types: the miscellany, to which music was added on an unoccupied page and which comes down to us as a by-transmission of the main material, and the purpose-copied book of polyphony. Of the latter type, the remnants of about forty-five volumes have survived from thirteenth-century England, mainly in the form of binding fragments. These can be described or delineated in terms of quality by the material they preserve and by the actual physical properties - paleographical and codicological - of the documents themselves. This type of qualitative evaluation is fraught with problems - but nevertheless, the fact that in both these ways the extant fragments show a clear sweep of types means that comparisons, and thus at least a partial assessment, can be made with some confidence.

Other than *W₁*, three fragmentary insular sources preserve Notre-Dame *conducti*: *Cjec* QB. 1, *Ob* Wood 591 and *Llp* 752. *Cjec* QB. 1 and *Ob* Wood 591 have already been described in the literature.¹ The former is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript containing a miscellany of formal letters, indentures, acquittances, concessions, etc; the latest dated item is an acquittance from Robert Prior of Norwich and William Prior of St. Mary's, Butley, to the Prior and Convent of Bury, from 1417.² The volume was compiled at the Abbey of St. Edmund, Bury, as an *ex libris* on folio one, *Scriptus videtur hic Liber in usum Abbatis S^{cti} Edmundi de Bury*, testifies. When the manuscript was rebound in 1955, the four flyleaves and thirty-three binding strips were removed

1. See Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th century)* Repertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV₁ (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966) 473-476; 578-579. *Ob* Wood 591 was first described by Reaney in "Some Little-Known Sources of Medieval Polyphony in England," *Musica disciplina* 15 (1961) 15-26.

2. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London: C. J. Clay & Sons for Cambridge University Press, 1895) 16-19.

and are now kept in a separate envelope. The binding strips and three of the flyleaves will be brought into our discussion here as they transmit one *conductus* not known from the "Notre-Dame" repertory and fourteen "Notre-Dame" *conducti*. The fourth flyleaf will not be discussed in this chapter as it was originally part of another source. Originally, the three Notre-Dame folios formed the back flyleaves and the Marian motet folio the front. The *conducti* transmitted by the flyleaves are in three parts, and those transmitted by the binding strips, which assembled make up eight folios, are in two parts. None of the three flyleaves are contiguous: each starts part-way through a piece, suggesting that the original manuscript of polyphony must to some extent already have been dismembered before being used for binding. The third folio *may* have been the last of a fascicle: staves and text, but not notation, have been entered for more music. The text, beginning *Ve[...] fides geniti*, is not known from either the Notre-Dame or insular repertory, but can be identified as a Communion chant, *Vera fides geniti*, which occurs in the *Graduale sarisburiense* for use within the Octave of the Nativity of the BVM.³ The folio in *Cjec* QB. 1 on which this underlay occurs is torn across, but the identifiable portions of text match those of the Communion chant. It is possible that a polyphonic setting of this chant was to have been entered at this point in *Cjec* QB. 1; that this is however a *conductus* fascicle could well suggest an error on the part of the scribe. Traditionally, the end of the fascicle would have contained a few folios ruled up with empty staves for the addition of new pieces as they became available. In *F*, each of the eleven fascicles, except those whose endings are missing, contains blank folios. In *Ma*, three complete folios at the end of fascicle two, which is ruled for four-part pieces, have been left blank, as have several folios at the end of fascicle six, a miscellaneous collection. In *W₁*, there is a blank folio at the end of fascicle ten. There are fewer instances where text, but not music have been entered; in *W₂*, there is *Omni pene* [I34], which does occur on folio 144v, at the end of fascicle seven, but in this source there are also several occurrences of empty staves with only text entered in the middle of fascicles, particularly in the alphabetical motet section: on folio 162 (*Fidelis gratuletur populus-[Sancto]* [697]) and folio 173 (*Mulierum natus est-Mulierum* [376]) for

3. See Walter Howard Frere (ed.), *Graduale sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the 13th Century with Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating its Development from the Gregorian Antiphonale missarum*, 2 fasciculi (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1892-4), II: folio u.

example. Ruling, notating and entering text would have formed three separate operations, of which the notating would in this case have formed the last. As this section is arranged alphabetically, it is not unreasonable to assume compilation from more than one exemplar - each of which may or may not themselves have been ordered alphabetically. In a busy *scriptorium* or *atelier*, an *exemplar* not in use would conceivably be being passed around for other copies to be made; for some reason, there was no time, or the *exemplar* was no longer available, and the staves were never filled. In the case of *Cjec* QB. 1, it is quite likely that the manuscript was being prepared from two different sources, one of Notre-Dame *conducti* and one of other pieces not known from the Notre-Dame repertory; note that the "added" piece from the "two-part" gathering, *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit*, also occurs last among what remains.

The thirty-three binding strips form two separate and six contiguous folios. *A deserto veniens*, beginning on folio B, has a particularly sumptuous decorated initial, suggesting that this folio may have been the first of the fascicle. The other two-part Notre-Dame pieces preserved in this source are *O crux ave spes unica*, *Genitus divinitus*, *Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori meo*, *Deduc Syon uberrimas*, *Age penitentiam*, and *Anni favor jubilei*. The three-part pieces in this source are *Procruans odium*, *Si mundus viveret*, *Fas et nephas*, *Leniter ex merito*, *Fulget Nicholaus*, *Premii dilatio*, and *Crucifigat omnes*. That the two gatherings transmit the same number of pieces each, although the first is only three folios and the second eight, is owing to the fact that the pieces from the first are, with one exception, syllabic, but those from the second, melismatic.

Ob Wood 591 is a printed book: William Painter's *The Pallace of Pleasure Beautified* published in 1569 by Thomas Marsh of Fleet Street, London. The two front and two rear flyleaves contain respectively unique insular three-part *conducti* and two-part Notre-Dame *conducti*. The flyleaves were not bound into the parent volume in their original, correct order. Reaney's re-ordering in *RISM* BIV₁ is not wholly satisfactory as the front

set of leaves are unnecessarily rendered unconnected. He lists the pieces in the order *O laudanda*, *O benigna* ("incomplete"), *Salve mater* and *Salve rosa* ("incomplete"), but there is no evidence that *Salve rosa* is incomplete, merely that it is short. If his folio 2v-2 were to come first, then this group would begin with *Salve mater*, continuing with *Salve rosa*, *O laudanda* and *O benigna*. Reaney's re-ordering of the back leaves must be correct. The Notre-Dame *conducti* preserved on these flyleaves are *Beate virginis*, *Ista dies celebrari* and the opening of *Virga Jesse regio*.

We have reviewed the make-up of these volumes to give some context for the recently-discovered *Llp* 752, which is discussed next. The content of the main body of this codex is a late thirteenth-century copy of *De re militari*, Flavius Vegetius Renatus's fourth-century text on military strategy. Vegetius Renatus cited as his primary source the first-century text *De re militari* by Sextus Julius Frontinus, the one-time Governor of Britain,⁴ which explains the erroneous attribution to Frontinus on the cover of the manuscript. In fact, Frontinus's work is now lost, and survives solely through this secondary source. Vegetius Renatus's work was well known during the later middle ages, even being translated into English in the early fifteenth century as *Knyghthode and Bataille*;⁵ it was published in the original Latin as late as the turn of the seventeenth century.⁶ Although it was brought to the attention of the musicological world only recently, the presence of a "musical flyleaf" was recorded by M. R. James as long ago as 1932.⁷ In fact the "flyleaf" is the back pastedown of *Llp* 752. The three Notre-Dame *conducti* it

4. George Whittick, "Frontinus," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn, ed. Nicholas Hammond and Howard Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 448; George Watson, "Vegetius," *ibidem*, 1110-1111.

5. For a modern edition see R. Dyboski and Z. M. Arend, (eds.), *Knyghthode and Bataile*, Early English Text Society, original series no. 201 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935).

6. Flavius Vegetius Renatus and others, *Flavii Vegetii Renati De re militari libri quator... correcti a Godescalo Stewechio; accesserunt Sex. Julii Frontini Strategematon libri quator, Aelianus De innstruendis aciebus, Modestus De vocabulis rei militaris, Castramento Romanorum ex historicis polybii. Accessit... eiusdem G. Stewechii in Fl. Vegetium commentarius. Adiuncta eiusdem G. Stewechii et Francisci Modii in Jul. Frontinum conjectanea et notae* (Lugdini Batavorum: ex officina Plantiniana, apud Franciscum Raphelengium, 1592).

7. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Medieval Manuscripts* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1932) 801.

transmits are well-known: the end of *Austro terris influente* (the *cauda* to the text "... *minor natu filius*"), the complete second strophe of *Ortu regis evanescit* preserved alone as a separate piece, and the incipit of *Pater noster qui es in celis*.⁸ The two unique *conducti*, in simple style, are *Cristus natus de Maria* and *Barabas dimittitur, Cristus penas*. Only the first strophe of *Barabas* is complete, plus the beginning of the second, with faint patches of the second strophe offset onto the front board. Unfortunately the *dupla* for the beginnings of both pieces have been cut off.

Cristus natus and *Barabas dimittitur* seem to be preserved in this source as one piece: unlike the other songs, *Barabas dimittitur* lacks a decorated initial. However, the differences between the two songs are marked. Firstly, they do not share the same poetic metre. Secondly, *Barabas* belongs to its own tradition, encompassing the Matins responsory for Good Friday *Barabas latro dimittitur et innocens Christus occiditur* and also the motet *Barabas dimittitur dignus patibulo/Barabas dimittitur inmerito/Babylonis flumina*,⁹ texts contrasting the release of Barabas with the torments which Christ then has to endure after Judas's betrayal. Peter Lefferts has pointed out that the language of these texts is the closest of the insular motet poetry to the intense concentration on the Passion which characterizes the most familiar devotional poetry.¹⁰ Although both songs from *Llp* 752 are of this type, only *Barabas* shares specific textual similarities with these other poems. Thirdly, there are the differences in musical style. Whereas *Cristus natus* is in florid, almost organal style alternating with syllabic

8. For editions of these see especially Ethel Thurston, (ed.), *The Conductus Collections of MS Wolfenbüttel 1099*, 3 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 11-13 (Madison, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1980); *Austro terris*: 3:9; *Ortu regis*: 2:91; *Pater noster*: 3:32; see also Gordon Athol Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia* 11 vols, Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979-86); *Austro terris*: 3:1; *Ortu regis*: 3:11; *Pater noster*: 3:6.

9. These texts are discussed by Peter M. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986) 235. Lefferts also notes that "the text of *Laus honor* (*Cpc* 228) is similar in content and tone" (*ibidem*).

10. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 190.

passages, *Barabas dimittitur* is a syllabic setting with *caudae* in modal rhythm at the end of each poetic line (see Examples 1 and 2).¹¹

Example 1: *Cristus natus de Maria* (Lp 752)

Cri-shus na-tus

de Ma-ri-a mun-dum mun-dum mor-te

pi-a, na-tus est pro ho-mi-ne. Ut al-a-de

cri-mi-ne Mun-dum im-mun-dum mun-da-ret, ho-mi-ne-que li-be-

ra-ret. Quis red-det dig-ne gra-ti-as cris-to qui tot au-gus-

ti-as Tu-lit qui mor-ti, tra-di-tur.

* Sections in square brackets are editorial reconstructions of missing portions of the MS.

11. The transcriptions of *Cristus natus* and *Barabas dimittitur* are introduced here for ease of reference. The predominantly isosyllabic method of transcription, however, hinges on the interpretation of two rhombs in *Cristus natus* and is discussed later, in §IV, ii. See also note 49 of the same chapter where the arguments for and against isosyllabic transcription are reviewed briefly.

Example 2: *Barabas dimittitur* (Llp 752)

Ba- ra- bas dim- mit- ti- tur Cris- tus pe- nas pa- ti- tur

tur Qui per In- dam tra- di- tur

et fra- ge- lis ce- di- tur. Li- ga- tur

et tra- hi- tur ri- li- ter con- spi- cit- tur

Ve- la- tur il- lu- di- tur Tan- quam ag-

nus in- no- cen- tus de- ci- tur.

Although *Barabas dimittitur* sounds from this description more like a Notre-Dame *conductus*, it clearly does not belong to the this tradition at all, but to the stylistically trans-European repertory of simple polyphony or "common discant" which is discussed below in §V,iii. The faint offset on the front board: "-tatitur Crist- ...," suggests that the second strophe of *Barabas* continues in the style of the first. There is little doubt that two pieces, not one, are recorded here. It must be remembered that the relationships between separate strophes of *conducti* are not always clear-cut. Sometimes they were divided up, each becoming a separate piece.¹² *Llp* 752 itself provides an example of this. *Hec est rosa* occurs as a self-contained *conductus* in this source, but in other sources it is always placed as the second strophe of *Ortu regis*.¹³ This is probably one of the most interesting examples of the poetic content of the first stanza conditioning the reception of subsequent stanzas: on the face of it, the subject-matter of the verses bear no relation to each other at all. The *conductus* is through-composed; at least on a superficial level, there are no musical clues as to organic connections. The preservation of *Hec est rosa* alone may testify to its entirely separate origin and identity. It is with this sort of evidence in mind that we should resist attempts to make too facile an assumption about whether or not the testimony of the flourished initial is preferred over that of the musical and poetic style. In the final analysis, all we can say is that as *Cristus natus* and *Barabas dimittitur* are both laments for the Crucifixion, they do at least belong together in a liturgical sense. Why were these crucifixion laments copied with the Notre-Dame pieces in *Llp* 752? It is tempting to establish a link between this Passion music and the Notre-Dame pieces: the illuminator of *F* must have considered *Austro terris* a Resurrection piece as he gave the historiated initial *A* an Easter theme: at the top of the letter there is an angel with the three Marys at the empty tomb, and at the bottom, the

12. Many *conductus* strophes develop complicated relationships between each other and those of other *conducti*. The fifth strophe of *Crucifigat omnes* (*F*, f. 231'; *W₁*, f. 71; *W₂*, f. 46 (a three-part but incomplete version; on f. 138' there is a 2-part version with all five strophes); *Hu*, f. 97; *Cjec*, QB. 1 and *Carmina Burana*) is preserved as a separate piece in *D-SI* HB. I Asc. 95, following *Olim fuit*, the third strophe of *Quod promisit*; *Crucifigat omnes* is however related musically to *Quod promisit*, being derived from the final cauda. See Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 192.

13. In *F*, the three strophes are divided between the sixth fascicle (strophes one and two on f. 216) and the seventh (strophe three on f. 307'. However, *W₁* (f. 117), *W₂* (f. 101') and *Ma* (f. 81) preserve all three strophes together.

meeting of Mary Magdalene with the resurrected Christ;¹⁴ in this context, *Cristus natus* and *Barabas* can be seen as local offerings which supplemented the imported Parisian Easter pieces. Baltzer has shown, however, that this was a misunderstanding on behalf of the illuminator of *F*. Although the beginning of the poem is identifiable with the Resurrection, it becomes clear later in the text that the "rebirth" refers to the "new birth" of Christ and "the rising of a King" which rescues men from the "old Law." The context is the Incarnation, not the Resurrection. It is impossible to say whether the compiler of *Llp* 752 made the same mistake. The first and third strophes of *Ortu regis* contain much of the same imagery as *Austro terris* - nature as a symbol of the supernatural¹⁵ - but of course it is only the second, apparently unrelated strophe which is recorded. In any case, *Pater noster* is liturgically non-specific, and confirms that on balance *Llp* 752 is not likely to have represented a collection of pieces specifically for the Passion.

Llp 752 is a bifolium, not the middle one of a gathering, and now measures about 237mm by 170mm; there has been a loss of about 30mm from the upper margin, approximately 9mm of the written block at the top and about 30mm from one of the sides, which would make the estimated original dimensions of each folio approximately 190mm by 134mm and the estimated original dimensions of the written block 131mm by 104mm. *Ob* Wood 591 contains one folio (folio 4) with an intact written block: the dimensions are 155mm by 92mm. Originally, *Ob* Wood 591 would have measured about 221mm by 162mm. *Cjec* QB. 1 is, then, relatively large at 295mm by 227mm, with a written area of 205/215mm by 150mm - or perhaps we should say that *Ob* Wood 591 and *Llp* 752 are relatively small, and therefore, in theory, identifiable with a mid-thirteenth century book of polyphony at St. Paul's, given by Ralph de Sancto Gregorio and described as a "*minimus liber vetus et organicus*"; this volume did begin with

14. Baltzer, "Illuminated Miniatures," 9.

15. See Thurston, *The Conductus Collections*, I:28-29.

Austro terris.¹⁶ The staves of *Llp* 752 have nine, ten or eleven lines with a gauge of slightly under 3mm and are ruled in red; those of *Ob* Wood 591 have a smaller gauge of 2mm/2mm+, and the notation is correspondingly smaller. *Llp* 752 has two flourished initials: H (blue, with red flourishing) and C (red, with blue flourishing), simpler than either the delicately-flourished gold leaf, blue and red initials of *Ob* Wood 591 or the indented blue-and-red body and flourishing of *Cjec* QB. 1.¹⁷

While only the back pastedown of *Llp* 752 now survives, the offset on the front board indicates that the now-lost front pastedown would have formed an adjacent folio with the extant page. Clearly legible is `... a *Serpens di...*', part of the text, with notation, of *Austro terris* from the end of the second strophe (*'Via patet regia'*) and the beginning of the third (*Serpens dirus*). This front pastedown may well also be extant. By calculating the amount of stave-space occupied by *Austro terris* in *F*, *W₁* *W₂* and *Ma*,¹⁸ we can estimate that the lost Lambeth Palace leaf would have contained the beginning of *Austro terris*. Significantly, *Austro terris* opens the second large repertory of the seventh fascicle of *F*, as well as a distinct repertorial section of the ninth fascicle of *W₁*; as we have already seen, it also began Ralph de Sancto Gregorio's now lost "*minimus liber vetus et organicus*."¹⁹ In *F*, it is given a historiated initial, one of thirteen scattered

16. See Rebecca Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners," 381-2; Andrew Wathey, *RISM BIV*₁₋₂ Suppl. (forthcoming).

17. A facsimile of folio [H], showing one of these *flourished* initials can be seen in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Jesus MS QB. 1. Fragments from an English Choirbook, s. xiii²/xiv¹," *Cambridge Music Manuscripts*, 900-1700, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 48.

18. Facsimile editions: of *F*: Luther Dittmer (ed.), *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana*, 2 vols. Publications of Medieval music manuscripts 10-11 (Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, [1966-1967]); of *W₂*: Luther Dittmer (ed.), *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbützel 1099 (1206)*, Publications of Medieval Music Manuscripts 2 (Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1960); of *Ma*: Luther Dittmer (ed.), *Madrid 20486: Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript*, Publications of Medieval Music Manuscripts 1 (Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1957).

19. Neil R. Ker, "Books at St. Paul's Cathedral Before 1313," *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* ed. Andrew Watson (London, 1985) 228; quoted in Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony," 7. See also, Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners," 381-2.

throughout the codex at significant points.²⁰ If, which is quite possible, it opened a fascicle or even the codex from which the *Llp* 752 binding fragment originated, there may well have been a large, highly decorated *A* on the now-missing leaf, a reason for its possible removal and separate preservation. (This would explain why the front flyleaf was taken but not the back.) The question of when it would have been taken, and by whom, then arises. The habit of collecting and cataloguing manuscript fragments tends to be thought a modern activity, at least only perhaps beginning in Victorian times. In fact Tenison himself was invited by Humphrey Wanley, under-librarian at the Bodleian from 1695 to 1700, to take part in a project to remove interesting binding fragments for the purpose of paleographical study in 1696. While Wanley's project was unusual - and Tenison himself declined to be involved - it did attract many prominent people, including Samuel Pepys and Hans Sloane.²¹ At the very least, Wanley's suggestion might have prompted Tenison to seek out and take an interest in the manuscript binding fragments in his own books.

A book is a tangible object as well as an intangible collection of thought. Its physical characteristics - the calibre of the parchment, binding, script and ornamentation - should ideally mirror the quality of the content. In other words, these characteristics may under model circumstances fulfil more than a purely decorative function, and signify the status of the material which has been copied. In broad terms, the Notre-Dame polyphony transmitted by *Cjec* QB. 1, *Llp* 752 and *Ob* Wood 591 must already have achieved classic status by the time it was copied into these sources: we would not expect less than high-quality workmanship from the physical documents themselves, and in this respect the sources do not disappoint us. It is difficult to make similar judgements about sources preserving insular repertory. Of what survives, only the reconstructed volumes of the

20. See Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures."

21. Milton McC. Gatch, "Humphrey Wanley's Proposal to the Curators of the Bodleian Library on the Usefulness of Manuscript Fragments From Bindings," *The Bodleian Library Record* 11 (1983) 94-98.

"Worcester fragments" can be said with reasonable certainty to preserve *demonstrably older* works in the style of an *anthology* (see §III and §V,ii). It may or may not be coincidental that the paleographical styles of these three insular Notre-Dame sources reflect the musical styles of the insular pieces they transmit, and that this kind of comparison does to some extent bear fruit with some sources. If however we concede that the musical copies which survive testify to the later reception of the works they preserve, then we can learn very little about musical taste, or even a work's status at the time of composition, from the paleographical style of the document in which the music is transmitted.

We are safe in characterising *Ob* Wood 591 in terms of the highest quality, and this immediately suggests that both the insular and the Notre-Dame pieces were viewed as deserving this kind of preservation. The gold leaf and finely flourished initials of *Lwa* 33327 invites a similar comparison, even though the four-part insular motets and Montpellier concordance imply a later date. *Lwa* 33327 is almost undoubtedly a London book - there is little question of its Westminster Abbey connection²² - and *Ob* Wood 591 might easily be identifiable with one of the "lost" St. Paul's volumes. Neither of these manuscripts show any apology for preserving indigenous and continental pieces together in such an opulent manner. But the fact that these volumes came from such rich establishments as Westminster and Bury St. Edmunds Abbeys make it difficult to assess whether Notre-Dame polyphony was held in especial esteem in England or simply whether these institutions could afford finer parchment, a larger amount of gold leaf and more expert flourishers.

The relatively large amount of material which survives from Reading Abbey illustrates the difficulty of assessing the perceived quality of repertory by the quality of the document by which it is transmitted. Two *conductus* volumes from Reading are of

22. See Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 182.

particular interest: *Ob* Bodley 257 and *Owc* 213* (*olim* 3. 16 (A)*). The *conducti* transmitted by these sources do exhibit different styles. The songs from Bodley 257 are syllabic settings without *caudae*. The works in *Owc* 213* are more expansive, containing extended *caudae*. Both sources make use of the *virga* and rhomboid breve to indicate long-short rhythm.²³ These basic differences in style are easier to pin down than real differences in musical language between the works. While these should not be oversimplified, it would be questionable to use them to argue that one source transmits an 'older' repertory than the other.

Despite this, the physical differences between the sources themselves are great. The flyleaves of *Ob* Bodley 257 are from a fairly large volume of polyphony (dimension of written area = 232mm by 140mm) and the music is written in black and brown ink, on fairly coarse parchment - broadly similar in this aspect of appearance to the Reading rolls said to have been written by W. de Wicumbe (*Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 + *Ob* Rawl. C. 400*).²⁴ The flyleaves of *Owc* 213* are from a smaller book of polyphony (dimensions of written area = approximately 185mm by 115mm) and the music is written in black ink on red staves, on high-quality parchment, with the red and blue initials showing some particularly fine flourishing. All the *conducti* begin with the word *Ave*. These two *conductus* volumes from Reading are actually quite widely different despite the similarity of repertory. It is not fanciful to surmise the copying of *Owc* 213* as further distant from the actual composition of the music than Bodley 257, since it shows so many features of an anthology of more classic works.

* * *

23. Malyshko discusses the relationship between notation and the complete alteration of strong- and weak-beat dissonance if transcribed in third mode of the *Owc* 213* *conductus Ave Maria salus hominem* in "The English Conductus Repertory," 220-228.

24. See §III.

§II,ii: Polyphonic Music In Commonplace Books

Commonplace books, or miscellanies, often represent the collections of individuals, for personal use or contemplation. They were subject not only to the vagaries of what material was available but, more particularly, what space was available. With even the most cursory glance at the musical contributions or additions to miscellanies, we are immediately confronted with an enormously diverse set of musical types - a rather wider range, in fact, than is transmitted by the extant scraps of books of polyphony. Miscellanies have preserved our sole complete examples of polyphony with English texts,²⁵ as well as music not merely preserved but apparently conceived as textless.²⁶ This diversity is mirrored in the sources themselves: a single manuscript may preserve together instrumental music, English song and Anglo-Norman song; another might transmit a motet in reduced form with a concordance in *F-MO* H. 196 alongside a monophonic song in the vernacular.

The term "commonplace book" in its strictest sense refers to an individual's own compilation of treatises, excerpts or perhaps other products of the (monastic) world of learning for private devotional use; in these books, blank spaces would deliberately be left at the ends of quires for later additions, either of related or unrelated extracts. *Lbl* Arundel 248, Burney 357, Cotton Vesp. A. XVIII, Harley 524, Sloane 1580, *Llp* 457, *Ob* Bodley 343 and *F-Pn* fr. 25408 all belong in this category. We will also discuss in this chapter manuscripts which, if the term "miscellany" is interpreted in its narrowest sense, should not strictly speaking be included. These include the sources *Lbl* Cotton Titus A. XXI, which records psalm and hymn texts, and *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18, a Psalter.

25. The exception is the polyphonic manuscript *Ccc* 8, which transmits the end of a two-part song in English, ... *in lyde joye and blisce* as well as the motet *Worldes blisce have god day*/[*Benedicamus Domino*]. *Ccc* 8 is, notwithstanding, the most miscellaneous of the polyphonic sources.

26. This contrasts with, for instance, the Sanctus setting found as Worcester Reconstruction 3, 3 (WF 83), which though preserved without text was probably - as it is built on a plainsong in the middle voice - conceived as a vocal setting whose words were never entered. Confer Figure 3b.

Both were volumes apparently compiled for use connected with the religious life of the institutions from which they came. What now forms the manuscript Rawlinson G. 18 is only one part of a source which originally also included a Kalendar, now *Ob* Lat. liturg. f. 11. We will also discuss *Ob* Douce 139, which, apart from love poems, chiefly preserves statutes, records of gifts of land and letters to and from the prior of the convent of Coventry. Other volumes examined here are single or composite library books. *Occ* E. 59 for instance is made up of the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus of Lille and a glossed version of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, and *Lbl* Harley 5393 consists of a glossed Gospel concordance, and an *Evangelia per totum Adventum legenda*. Such volumes affirm that although the monasteries' "golden age" had to some extent given way to the coming of the universities, they would still have wanted to keep their libraries well stocked in order to attract intelligent and educated men.²⁷

Although there is not a straightforward common characteristic of books to which one or a few musical items were entered, we must ask the same basic questions of all these sources in which polyphonic music occurs: why, and from where, the music was copied. Sometimes, polyphonic compositions in commonplace books occur on the end folios of gatherings, and particularly of booklets which were later bound up to form larger, composite codices. Descriptions of "music added to an otherwise blank page" are commonly used in *RISM BIV*₁ to refer to compositions copied in miscellanies. This suggests, erroneously perhaps, that the addition of music was an afterthought. If on the other hand we choose to view the copying of music as a conscious decision to include an item of specificity, we can learn something about the ways in which owner viewed the music. The manner in which the item was copied might reveal the owner's understanding of its function or even its musico-textual derivation or structure.

27. See Rodney M. Thomson, *Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Suffolk Records Society, 1980) 1.

Perhaps the most difficult source in this respect is *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18, a tiny Psalter which at some time during the thirteenth or early fourteenth century was passed to the Augustinian nunnery of Burnham in Buckinghamshire. The evidence of it having been at Burnham comes from the manuscript *Ob* Lat. liturg. f. 11, a Kalendar which was once part of the same source as *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18, and which contains additions in the form of obits. The most important of these, entered under April 28th, is the "*obitus Idonie Daudele abbatisse de Burnham*," who died in 1324. E. B. W. Nicholson suggested that the volume was prepared at Canterbury and later transferred to Burnham, but also noted that the scribe

ceased to enter the number of lections and the double feasts after March - which looks as if he had reflected that he was preparing the book not for his own community but for some other, or for a private person. And the prayer for the bishop suggests... that it was intended for use outside the *archiepiscopate* of Canterbury [emphasis original].²⁸

In this case, both the main corpus and the additions present a confused picture of purpose and intent. The two musical additions, *Worldes blis ne last no throwe* and *Mellis stilla-[Domino]* are among several other addenda; they were entered by the same hand as a prayer whose petitioner "trusts to be heard as God's handmaid Susanna was heard." Before the music and this prayer, another asks God to enlighten "*famule tue*" and free the petitioner "*a maculis oculorum*"; there seems little doubt that the volume was at a house of women at this point.



28. E. B. W. Nicholson, "Introduction," *Sacred and Secular Songs Together with Other MS. Compositions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ranging from about A. D. 1185 to about A. D. 1505*, Early Bodleian Music, ed. J. F. C. Stainer, C. Stainer and John Stainer (London: Novello and Co., 1901; R Westmead: Gregg Press International. 1967) I: xiiff.

Of the two musical items, there is little problem viewing *Worldes blis*, a monody in the vernacular,²⁹ in terms of a modest nunnery. The presence of *Mellis stilla-[Domino]*, though, must rank as the first extant appearance of polyphonic music in a women's house in Britain. There certainly hangs a question-mark over the identity of its hypothetical exemplar. The assumption that there was a volume of motets with continental concordances at Burnham from which this piece was copied would be overly bold, and it can be no coincidence that *Mellis stilla-[Domino]* is comparatively widely found in manuscripts from lowly establishments - especially in reduced form without tenor designation.³⁰ This is not intended to patronise nunneries; polyphonic music is unlikely to have been cultivated to the greater glory of God, but rather to the greater glory of the establishment. The composition and singing of polyphony were phenomena connected with access to education, not indications of religious zeal.

There are two concordances for *Worldes blis*. *Ob* Digby 86, preserving only the text, may have shared a common ancestor with Rawlinson G. 18 since both sources reverse the order of stanzas two and three and preserve a sixth stanza.³¹ *Lbl* Arundel 248 also preserves the music, which does not essentially differ from the version in Rawlinson G. 18. It is this manuscript, without doubt the most remarkable of the miscellanies, that we will discuss next. Some marginalia indicate that the manuscript belonged to Henry Savile Jr., Thomas Foxcroft of Christall and "Thomas Bromhead of the parish of Ledes," but the manuscript is not a Leeds source:³² Henry Savile (1568-1617) was a Halifax man, whose library contained numerous books from Rievaulx, Fountains, Byland and

29. It is not a polyphonic piece, as stated by Ann D. Bagnall, "Music Practices in English Medieval Nunneries" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1989) 125.

30. See Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 300-302.

31. Eric Dobson and Frank Ll. Harrison, *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979) 137.

32. Olga Malyshko lists Arundel 248 as a Leeds source in "The English Conductus Repertory," 72.

other Yorkshire houses.³³ Christall, now Chrishall, is, as Dobson points out,³⁴ in Essex; but in any case, closer examination shows that Arundel 248 is a composite source, consisting of four separate manuscripts: a) folios 1-94; b) folios 95-133; c) folios 134-135 (while this seems very small, a catchword on folio 135 points to the following folio(s) having been removed); d) folios 136-201. Not only the text hands but also the ruling patterns show that these four were at one time discrete. The marginalia concerning Thomas Bromhead, Edward Cristall and the parish of Leeds occur in the first of these, and there is no guarantee that they were bound together until after this first part left the possession of Thomas Bromhead, especially as the present binding indicates nothing earlier than the date at which it entered the Arundel library. All the music occurs in the fourth part. Contrary to Reaney's description,³⁵ it does not "occupy odd pages." There is a group of ten pieces on folios 153-155, a binio which is coeval with the preceding quaternio, and at the end of which there is a catchword ("*in principio*") on folio 155 which relates to the following gathering - and, as Reaney correctly states, some added pieces at the end of the manuscript. There is one main text hand for this part (folios 136-201) and a couple of subsidiary hands; the music group shows six text hands, but possibly only one music hand. Each piece must have been ruled up separately, following the double-column ruling for folio 153 and reverting to single-column for folio 154 and 155 *recto*, although on folio 154 the double-column ruling can still be detected. Two of the text hands, C and D, seem to occur more than once.

The items transmitted by *Lbl* Arundel 248 show a similar balance between *unica* and songs with either textual or musical concordances as does *Lbl* Harley 978, the rarity of whose contents may well represent, as Christopher Hohler suggests, a collection of

33. See Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3, 2nd edition (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964) xv.

34. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 162.

35. See Reaney, *RISM BIV*₁, 491.

items which the owner "hoped people would not have heard before."³⁶ The ten pieces preserved between folios 153-155 are in Latin, Anglo-Norman and English are in from one to three parts. As has been stated, however, interaction of scribal hands suggests that there is little question of an *ad hoc* approach to copying. Only three of the pieces have straight-forward concordances: *Worldes blis* and the famous *Angelus ad virginem*,³⁷ a piece widely disseminated over a long period of time; here it appears as a monody with an English *contrafactum*, *Gabriel fram even-king*, underneath the Latin text. It is otherwise found in *Lbl* Cotton Fragment XXIX in a setting in two-part score, and in another setting in three-part score as a fourteenth-century addition in mensural notation in the Dublin Troper *Cu* Add. 710. Other sources of *Angelus ad virginem* transmitting only the text are the fifteenth-century *Cu* Gg. 1. 32; it also occurred among the appendix of sequences for St. Martin in a 1550 printed Cluniac Missal, as well as in the manuscript *F-MZ* 535 which was lost in World War II.³⁸ In contrast, the other eight songs are *unica*. There are two songs in Latin with translations to Anglo-Norman beneath: the monophonic *Flos pudicitie/ Flur de virginité* and the three-part *Salve virgo virginum/Veine pleine de ducur*. The Anglo-Norman presence is not confined to mere translations of Latin texts; the monophonic *Bien deust chanter* also has concordances in continental manuscript.³⁹ It is the last of the block of songs on folios 153-155, copied by the same hand as *Angelus ad virginem*. For English, there is as well as *Gabriel fram even-king* the monodies *þe milde lombe isprad o rood* and *Jesu cristes milde moder*. The latter is a re-working of the Latin sequence *Stabat*

36. Christopher Hohler, "Reflections on some manuscripts containing 13th-century polyphony," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 1 (1978) 7.

37. Christopher Page discusses the possibility of the poem's attribution to Phillipe the Chancellor in "Angelus ad virginem: A new work by Phillipe the Chancellor?," *Early Music* 2 (1983) 69-70. The song is extensively discussed by John Stevens in "Angelus ad virginem: the History of a Medieval Song," *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett, aetatis suae LXX*, ed. P. L. Heyworth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 297-328.

38. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 178.

39. See Gaston Raynaud, *Bibliographie des Chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classés par ordre alphabétique de rimes, et la liste des trouvères*, 2 vols (Paris: F. Vierig Libraire Éditeur, 1884) number 1120b.

juxta Christi crucem, and Dobson points out that the characteristics shared by *Jesu cristes* and *Gabriel fram even-king* - skilful translations from the Latin which reproduce the metrical form of their Latin originals exactly, the use of the *i-* prefix —
- as well as the seemingly identical (East Anglian) dialect of both pieces but with some Northern features ("the preservation of the final *-e* in grammatically or etymologically justified cases except where rhyme or metre shows it to have been lost")⁴⁰ suggest that these translations are by the same person.⁴¹ These Arundel songs are then connected by a web of similarities: the scribal network, the translations made by the same man, the prominence of Anglo-Norman. This all suggests a group working in close collaboration, most probably in a clerical or monastic *milieu*. The question of access to material presents itself nowhere more forcibly than here, and the collection could bear witness to an East Anglian working in a Northern Abbey with an interest in Anglo-Norman - but no contact with the continent.

This is the feature which most contrasts the collection of pieces in Arundel 248 with the group in Harley 978. The concordances from within the insular repertory are what marks off the Arundel collection from other groups of compositions within miscellanies which do not preserve compositions with continental concordances; although *Llp* 457 and *F-Pn* fr. 25408, containing *unica*, are in fact the only other sources which fall within this description. As we have said, *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18 preserves an English monody and the motet *Mellis stilla-[Domino]*, which apart from *F-MO* H. 196, has concordances in *Ccc* 8, *F-BSM* 119 (St. Bertin, copied 1265); *F-CA* A. 410, among a group of eight motets with concordances in *F-MO* H. 196; the Sarum Missal *F-Pa* 135, among a group of seven motets with concordances in *F-MO* H. 196; *F-Pa* 3517-3518; *D-BAs* Lit. 115; *F-Pn* n. a. f. 13521; *E-BULh*; *Ob* Lyell 72, a Processional which may have been prepared in Paris for a Dominican convent in Aquileia; and *F-Pn* lat. 11266.

40. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 162.

41. Dobson and Harrison, *Medieval English Songs*, 161-183.

Like *Ave gloriosa-Domino*, *Mellis stilla-Domino* was apparently taken over willingly by modest establishments⁴², and its wide dissemination tells us little about specific continental involvement with the house where the additions were made. It would be difficult to postulate a major volume of continental motets for the house of *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18, and much more likely that it reached the house in the same score form without tenor designation in which it was copied. However, such a situation cannot also be assumed the case for the two non-musical Harleian manuscripts in the British Library, MSS 524 and 5393, which transmit *Notre-Dame conducti* as additions to blank end leaves. *Veri floris sub figura*, from *Lbl* Harley 524 is also found in *F*, *W₁*, *W₂*, *Ma*, *D-Sl* HB. I Asc. 95, *CH-SGs* 383, *E-TO* C. 97, *F-CHAR* 190, *F-Pn* lat. 4880, *Hortus Deliciarum*, and its text in *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510; *Quid tu vides, Jeremia* appears in fewer sources, namely *F*, *W₁*, *W₂* and *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510. Janet Knapp has already described the variant forms of *Quid tu vides, Jeremia*, noting that the version in *F* shares only its tenor with the other transmissions.⁴³ The version in *Lbl* Harley 5393 is musically closest to that in *W₂*, even sharing its transposition to C (*W₁* transmits it in *F*, *F* in G) although Harley 5393 also has strophe 2, which is only otherwise found in *W₁*.

As we have already stated, Harley 5393 is not strictly speaking a miscellany, but comprises two manuscripts, each probably library books, which may have led quite separate lives until bound together (we do not know when). It is at the end of the

42, For comments about the formats in which these motets survive, see Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France*, 301-303.

43. Janet Knapp, "Quid tu vides, Jeremia: Two Conductus In One," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 219. Knapp notes that *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510 contains three strophes, one unique (the second strophe of this source), which can belong with the first strophe (common to all sources) but makes no sense with the third (i.e. the second of *W₁* and Harley 5393. Knapp asserts that *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510's unique second strophe belongs with the variant musical setting found in *F*: that this strophe, "wanting from *F*, must have been known to the compiler of *Oxf* *Rawl* from some source no longer available to us." Does this mean that the compiler of *F* did not have access to the second strophe or that he chose not to record it? Knapp notes that "the duplum in *F* follows the direction of the second voice in *W₁* for a single phrase and thereafter goes its own way." What this suggests to me is that in some perhaps distant *exemplar* the scribe could only remember the beginning of one of the decorating voices and recomposed the rest. The idea of the *F* version "belonging" with the unique Rawlinson strophe is attractive but not entirely convincing.

Concordantia evangelistarum that *Quid tu vides, Jeremia* appears. There is only one hand at work for the whole manuscript, including the glossing and the text under the music, with no discernible change of ink; it appears, therefore, that the song was not a later addition but was recorded there at the time of copying the rest of the manuscript. It is not difficult to imagine why this particular composition should appear at the end of a copy of a glossed Gospel concordance. The scribe of the *concordantia evangelistarum* must have been left with a blank *verso* to fill. *Quid tu vides, Jeremia* deals with allegory, in complicated language, though musically it is in simple, note-against-note style without *caudae* (the style which later came to be known as "conductus style," in fact): the kind of piece whose text is presented clearly, without the musical distraction of complex melismatic structures, and the kind of piece which might have left an impression on an intelligent monastic scribe without presupposing any particular musical interest or involvement. Its presence is certainly appropriate to the content of the rest of the manuscript. Part of the text is actually taken from the Gospel of St. John, as Knapp has noted, and the strophes transmitted in this source concern the rejuvenation of the human race - symbolised by an ageing eagle - by the coming of the Lord, symbolised by a brilliant sun, into which the eagle flies to restore his failing vision, to drink of its rays. If it was the text rather than the music which attracted the scribe to this piece, then a first response might be a lack of surprise at the choice of a Notre-Dame *conductus*, rather than any other type of piece. In the matter of texts, much of the poetic writing connected with the cathedral must have been influenced by Philip the Chancellor's profundity and intellect. If we allow, however, that much more needs to be discovered before we can confidently assign repertoire to one particular *locale*, then some hesitation is called for before making facile assumptions about the connection between quality of text and provenance. In any case, *Quid tu vides* must have seemed an obvious choice of piece to copy under these circumstances.

Lbl Harley 524, the other source transmitting a Notre-Dame *conductus*, is a true miscellany: a collection of *libelli*, mostly non-contiguous, written in several thirteenth-

century hands. The last item is a letter from J., abbot of Oseney to John Alde., Bishop of Lincoln, on the admittance of R. de B. into sub-deacon's orders. John Daldeby was Bishop of Lincoln from 1300 to 1320, which means that Abbot "J." must either be John de Bibery, abbot at Oseney Abbey from 1297 to 1317, or, less likely, John de Oseneye, Abbot there from 1317 to 1330. This end leaf would seem originally to have been a blank flyleaf, as the parchment is of thicker, poorer quality, and any case the letter does not provide a terminal date for the copying of *Veri floris sub figura* as it is impossible to know at what point the gatherings were bound together. That they did definitely start life as separate booklets is attested by the number of blank leaves, at the ends of almost every fascicle. Also, the pricking and ruling patterns differ from one part to the next, as does the style of the minor initials. *Veri floris*, on folio 59, belongs to the *libellus* running from folio 53 to folio 62, which also contains items such as a *descriptio metrica flegmaticorum, sanguinorum et colericorum*, sections on the castigation of the flesh, on Satan, diverse prayers, hymn texts (including one whose first two lines only are identical to *Flos de spina* [H29]), sermons of John the Baptist, verses on the Sodomites, and so on. The *conductus* does not seem to have been placed here for any functional use, as it is in a different hand from the rest of the fascicle. The poetry is Marian: the Stem of Jesse produces a flower, Jesus, whose beauty does not wither or fade. The flower came forth from the fire of holiness, a fire likened to that of a goldsmith's forge, which ultimately tames the precious metal and enables it to be fashioned.⁴⁴ This is of a completely different type to *Quid tu vides*, *Jeremia*, and much more the type of text with which, from our present understanding, we would expect an "English" audience would have been familiar from a knowledge of indigenous musical texts.

As a digression, we must also briefly discuss the appearance of another so-called "Notre-Dame" *conductus* in an insular source: *Quis tibi Christi meritas*. Falck lists this piece as a Notre-Dame *conductus*, even though apart from *Occ* 497 it is only otherwise

44. See Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, I:43/XXIV.

found in *W*₂.⁴⁵ Malyshko notes that the version from this Parisian source bears only "minimal resemblance" to that from the English source,⁴⁶ but as Example 3 shows, the two versions bear what may be described as a tortuously intertwined, rather than a distant relationship. *Occ* 497 preserves a whole piece - it ends at the bottom of a *recto* and another song begins on the *verso* - but only about half of the poem transmitted in *W*₂. The theme is familiar, perhaps more so from the English repertory: the wretchedness of Man, who is not worthy to repay the debt of Christ's sufferings on his behalf. Much of the language is reminiscent of the intense devotional poetry which we have already seen in the *conducti* of *Llp* 752. In one sense, the *Occ* 497 version is incomplete, but in practice the poem is one which may end almost anywhere since much of the latter part is really a list Christ's deprivations.

Both versions begin with a long *cauda*, but *Occ* 497 starts with the second half of *W*₂'s *cauda* and then continues as *W*₂'s began, though only for a short while. The layout of the manuscript seems to reflect confusion over the song. There was evidently some perplexity as to where the beginning of the composition should be placed. The scribe has underlaid the second half of the bottom system on folio 41 with the last two syllables of the preceding song, *Veri floris sub figura* - apparently for a *cauda* which does not however exist, at least in the musical version which was copied in any extant source. The beginning of this system is underlaid with the first two words of *Quis tibi*, leaving no room for the opening *cauda* at all. The notator has decided to copy only the first section of the *cauda* on this system, but it only takes up half the system and he tries to fill up some of the space with an extremely elongated ligature. Like the other songs in this section of the manuscript, the flourished initial beside the opening is small, the height of one stave, but the notator has left no room for it to be drawn and the flourisher has had to drop it below the system into the bottom margin. Over the page, though, we

45. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 236.

46. Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 383-4.

find a large flourished initial occupying the height of the whole system; it is at this point that the second section of the opening *cauda* is copied, i.e. the part which in *Occ* 497 opens the composition.

After the opening *cauda*, the divergences between the two versions are more apparent than the similarities, though what is most interesting is that the beginning of the *cum littera* section of *Occ* 497 often preserves one of the voices of W_2 split among two parts. From the text *Nostrans miserias* the two versions are truly different. Is the splitting of one line between two voices a manifestation of the "English" *rondellus* idea, that "melody" and "harmony" are one, having been conceived together? The most likely explanation would seem to be that the piece transmitted in *Occ* 497 is a patchily-remembered variation of an earlier version, to which that preserved by W_2 is closer. On the face of it, the W_2 version even seems the more "English" of the two, moving as it does in parallel 5_3 chords much of the time. But *Quis tibi* is obviously an example for which judgements of this sort must be strenuously restrained, and not one which can safely be used to try and abstract a tradition of any kind.

It is interesting to note that *Veri floris sub figura*, *Quid tu vides*, *Jeremia* and *Quis tibi Christi meritas* appear as numbers six, seven and eight of W_2 's third fascicle, and the idea of a linked repertory is very alluring. They are however widely divergent both in style and in patterns of preservation. *Veri floris* and *Quid tu vides* are strophic, syllabic settings whereas *Quis tibi* is highly melismatic. *Veri floris* has an extremely wide concordance base - Anderson lists thirteen sources⁴⁷ - whereas the other two *conducti* are more confined.

47. Anderson, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," *Miscellanea musicologica* 6 (1972) 157.

There is no division in kind between miscellanies which transmit monophonic song in English, "Notre-Dame" *conducti*, or the entire gamut of relevant stylistic and linguistic types in between what we might think of as these two "extremes." There is little to suggest that chronology of composition played much part in determining the copying of polyphonic composition into these sources, and the many types of work which we find suggests cultivation on parallel rather than successive paths. The fact that music in miscellanies often does not seem to have been copied by a specialist music scribe raises more questions about purpose than the sources themselves are able to answer - except in cases of such direct relevancy as *Lbl* Harley 5393 and *Quid tu vides, Jeremia*. It is possible to hazard a guess at a network of pieces, such as the dismembered motet found in *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18, which travelled around a recognised infrastructure of modest establishments - although this does not necessarily presuppose any actual engagement with the music itself.

§III: EAST AND WEST

Neil Ker identifies several ways by which we can say that a certain book was in a certain place at a certain time.¹ Firstly, the book might be listed in a contemporary (medieval) library inventory - which does not mean it still survives. Secondly, there might be paleographical evidence which dates and places the book: at best, a contemporary *ex libris* or similar, but otherwise, the style of the script, decoration, ruling patterns, or binding which can connect the book in question with another whose provenance is known. Thirdly, there might be some inconclusive evidence - such as a later *ex libris*, or a particular type of material which is known to have been in use at a certain place - which may yet be backed up by other circumstantial evidence: this may consist of a probable channel of transmission, perhaps through a person who could connect one environment to another.

Patterns in the occurrence of Notre-Dame polyphony in Britain have yet to be established, partly because most sources consist of binding fragments whose parent volumes are not always placeable; in any case it is incautious to assume that waste material of this sort was necessarily regenerated from within one institution. The notable exception is *W₁*, the sole surviving complete insular source from this period. Everist has suggested the earliest date yet for this source on paleographical, particularly art-historical evidence; more importantly, he suggests reasons why a manuscript of Notre-Dame polyphony should have been found in so remote a locality, arguing for Bishop Guillaume Mauvoisin or a member of his *familia* as a likely channel of transmission from Paris to St. Andrews.²

1. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, xv-xxii.

2. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," 17-28.

Such a methodology works well when there is as much and as varied circumstantial evidence as there is for *W₁*, but can only be applied with reservation to other sources; the most that can be shown in other cases is that sources did at one time come to be at the place in question, and that that place is as likely as anywhere else to have been receptive to Parisian music. Still in Scotland, but from further up the east coast now resides another source of Notre-Dame polyphony. Geoffrey Chew has described *ABu* 2379/1 as a "*Magnus liber organi* fragment" as it contains the Notre-Dame setting *Alleluya V. Justus germinabit*, though as the fragment also contains the tenor of an unidentified motet and one voice with a tropic Kyrie text, it is stretching a point to invoke the name of Leonin's cycle and thus equate this group with the *Magnus liber organi* collections found in *F* and *W₁*. Chew was rightly cautious about suggesting Aberdeen as the original provenance. He found two books from Aberdeen University library whose dimensions roughly matched the fragment, one from St. Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen and one from St. Paul's Cathedral, London, going on tentatively to suggest St. Paul's on the evidence that the inventories for 1255 and 1295 mention a volume of *organa* and the Aberdeen fragment contains a Notre-Dame *organum*. The few books from St. Paul's which survive only do so because some books from that institution had gone into private hands by 1666, when the Great Fire destroyed all those which remained in London; many of the surviving volumes are now indeed at Aberdeen.³ The Aberdeen fragment, measuring only 260-270mm by 50-53mm, transmits three genres: Notre-Dame *organum*, tropic Kyrie setting and motet. This was most probably the outside bifolium of a gathering as one page is blank and would represent the last *verso* of the gathering. This would make Chew's "Side B, right," containing the tenor of an unidentified motet, the first page of the gathering. "Side A, left", containing the Parisian *organum* would then form its *verso*. "Side A, right," with the Kyrie text would be the *recto* of the last folio of the gathering and the blank "Side B, left" its *verso*.

3. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, xv; 120-121.

Even if it were a large gathering, this still leaves a motet and an *organum* in the space of one folio. But the inventories nowhere mention this particular *organum*, and the Aberdeen fragment contains a mix of repertories which is unlikely to have characterised a book of Parisian *organum*. Baltzer lists four books of polyphony from St. Paul's, of which three are Notre-Dame suspects. The first, William de Fauconberg's volume, is described as "*perpulcherrimum*," an adjective we would hesitate to apply to any other surviving source than *Ob* Wood 591 - indeed, the major weakness in making a case for *Ob* Wood 591 being one of the St. Paul's volumes is that given the date at which the flyleaves were used for binding (between 1569 and 1589), they were probably monastic refugees from the Dissolution. The second, John de Bolemer's, began with a gold letter. The third, Radulf of St. Gregory's, seems to have contained *conducti*, not *organa*. Fauconberg's and Bolemer's volumes were apparently prestigious; it is difficult to equate their descriptions with what remains of *ABu* 2379/1, whose paleographical quality is now not easy to assess. However, this is not of course to say that there was no other reference to another volume of polyphony from St. Paul's - i.e. *ABu* 2379/1 - which has now been lost. Given the paucity of surviving material from any Aberdeen foundation of the thirteenth century - Ker lists only one volume, from the Cathedral Church of the B. V. M.⁴ - it does seem improbable that a paleographical concordance will be traced here. With the provenance of *W₁* having been reasonably conclusively established as St. Andrews Cathedral Priory, the idea of another volume of Notre-Dame polyphony originating from further up the coast is possibly even more appealing than St. Paul's. Until more evidence is forthcoming, however, the provenance of the Aberdeen fragment must remain unknown.

We will turn now to the clutch of items which have traditionally been thought to connect Notre-Dame polyphony with the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds: *Cu* Ff. 2. 29, two non-contiguous flyleaves containing a Notre-Dame *organum* and a Sanctus

4. A copy of *Bartholomeus Anglicus*, now *Ob* Ashmole 1474. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 1-2.

setting; *Cjec* QB. 1, containing Notre-Dame *conducti*; and the manuscripts *Lbl* Royal 12. C. VI and *Lbl* Cotton Tiberius B. IX, transmitting music treatises, including that of Anonymous IV.⁵ Christopher Hohler has commented on the relationship between Anonymous IV and the Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, and we may take his comments as a point of departure here:

It is usually assumed that Anonymous IV had returned home from Paris to Bury. But this does present difficulties. His tract, which looks like notes for his own lectures ('etc' meaning 'expand this if necessary') implies an audience familiar, from hearing them, with a number of items from the Notre-Dame repertory, and wishing to know how it was done. This is not at all likely to have been the case at Bury, where, assuming he taught there at all, he would pretty certainly have had to recast his course drastically. Moreover, his references to music in England touch the West country, the Court, London and Winchester. He is noticeably silent about the Severn Valley [*confer* the Worcester fragments] and East Anglia.⁶

The assumption that Anonymous IV returned home from Paris to Bury or at least visited Bury has been made because his treatise survived in the two "Bury" manuscripts cited above. Royal 12. V. VI is listed as a Bury volume of the s.xiii-iv in Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. It seems to have been procured for Bury St. Edmunds in the fourteenth century by Henry of Kirkestede.⁷ Peter Lefferts notes that the version of Anonymous IV's treatise which survives in Cotton Tiberius B. IX does descend from the earlier Royal manuscript, but that it is impossible to say whether it was copied directly

5. *Lbl* Cotton Tiberius B. IX was burnt in a fire in 1731, but a copy of it had already been made, viz. *Lbl* Add. 4909.

6. Hohler, "Reflections," 18.

or at one or more removes.⁸ Lefferts considers it unlikely that the treatise originated at Bury.

Whether or not Anonymous IV was a "monk of Bury," or lectured there, or indeed had anything to do with Bury at all, this does not affect the possibility that Notre-Dame polyphony was known there. In his treatise, Anonymous IV mentions some Notre-Dame *organa* by name:

Est quoddam volumen continens quadrupla ut *Viderunt* et *Sederunt*, quae composuit Perotinus Magnus... Est et aliud volumen de triplicibus maioribus magnis ut *Alleluya Dies sanctificatus* etc...⁹

There is a certain volume containing *quadrupla* such as "Viderunt" and "Sederunt," which Perotin the Great composed... And there is another volume of fine great *tripla* such as "Alleluya Dies Sanctificatus," etc...¹⁰

It has long been known that the Notre-Dame setting of *Alleluya V. Dies Sanctificatus* is to be found among the thirteenth-century music flyleaves of *Cu Ff. 2. 29*,¹¹ a fifteenth-

7. See Edward Roesner, "The Origins of W1," 379, n. 199.

8. Peter Lefferts, *Robertus de Handlo, REGULAE: The Rules and Johannes Hanboys, SUMMA: The Summa. A new critical text and translation on facing pages, with an introduction, annotations and indices verborum and nominum et rerum* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) 69-71.

9. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, I:82.

10. Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory," 221.

11. See Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, II:2.

century Bury register;¹² *Cjec* QB. 1, as we have already said, contains fourteen Notre-Dame *conducti*. These two manuscripts do not share the same written block dimensions. *Cu* Ff. 2. 29 has a written area of 179 x 121mm, whereas the written area of *Cjec* QB. 1 is for the first gathering 215 x 150mm and for the second, 205 x 150mm. The script of *Cjec* QB. 1 is similar to, but done to a slightly squarer module than that of *Cu* Ff. 2. 29. However, the page sizes do correspond, and the minor initials and flourishing of both are so similar in vocabulary that their must be a strong possibility of their having been executed at the same place even if not by the same flourisher.¹³ The main bodies of all the initials are of the indented type, in combined blue and red, and the infilling, more notable than the outer flourishing, consists of patterns of the inwardly-spiralling flourishing component which Sonia Patterson has called the "extended fan."¹⁴ In *Cu* Ff. 2. 29, these are coloured with green, yellow and maroon wash (see Figure 1).

Cu Ff. 2. 29 is a Vestry Register: like *Cjec* QB. 1, then, it is also a collection of items connected with the administration of the Abbey. The latest dated item - an account of the controversy between the Abbey and the Bishop of Ely concerning their respective rights in parishes belonging to the Bishop but situated within the boundaries of St. Edmunds - is from 1424,¹⁵ a terminal date close to 1417, that of *Cjec* QB. 1. As most of the items entered in both these registers are undated, it is likely that both sources contain

12. The Bury Red Vestry Register Part I; described fully in C. Hardwick, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in The Library of the University of Cambridge*, 5 vols (Cambridge: The University Press, 1857) II:347-354.

13. Thomson points out the similarities of the pen-work between *Cu* Ff. 2. 29 and *Lbl* Cotton Titus A. VIII [folios 65-145] in *Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, 130. The latter is a *Vita S. Edmundi*, listed as Bury manuscript in Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 20, but on inspection the volumes are not really similar and I would have hesitated to attribute *Cu* Ff. 2. 29 to Bury on the similarity of penwork alone. Discussions of flourishing as a means of identifying provenance and date can be found in Sonia Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century" B. Litt. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1969); published in revised form as Sonia Scott-Fleming, *The Analysis of Pen Flourishing in Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts*, *Litterae Textuales* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989); *ibidem*, "Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," *The Library* ser. 5 27 (1972) 23-30; *ibidem*, "Minor Initial Decoration Used to Date the Propertius Fragment," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 235-247.

14. Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts," 2:44-46.

15. Thomson, *Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, 131, states that the latest dated item is from 1417; however, Hardwick, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in The Library of The University of Cambridge* shows that this is not the case.

items which were copied after 1417 and 1424. There are strong inferences that both volumes may have been bound at roughly the same time and shared binding material from manuscripts which were also related.

Figure 1: Minor initial flourishing, *Cu Ff.2.29* and *Cjec QB.1*



Cu Ff.2.29



Cjec QB 1



"Extended fan"
(after Scott-Fleming)

Perhaps, then, these two sources share a common origin; but even if this is so, the provenance of the flyleaves does not necessarily equal those of their parent volumes. This must inevitably caution the assignation of this music to St. Edmunds Abbey. The flyleaves of each may well have come from companion volumes of Notre-Dame polyphony; but while the Bury binder may have worked on them at the same time, there is nothing to say that he did not get his scrap from, say, Ely, or indeed anywhere else. However, there were both personal and political contacts between Paris and Bury. Any one of these could have prompted the decision to acquire a book or two of Notre-Dame polyphony. Firstly, Abbot Samson - Bury's best-loved and best-known abbot, who ruled the house from 1182-1211 - had studied at the University of Paris.¹⁶ During his time there, he is more than likely to have come into contact with music from the cathedral, although he lived too early to have ordered the manuscript which would later become the exemplar for *Cjec* QB. 1. Secondly, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, St. Edmund's Abbey was almost a focal point of intrigue for those who were pro-French at the time when factions throughout England were divided either for King John or for Louis of France (this is discussed more fully below).¹⁷ Thirdly, the Abbey was huge and rich. Although the endowment by which it had been founded in 1020 was modest, it had by the twelfth century become one of the wealthiest and most important monasteries in England, with an income among the highest of any Benedictine house in Europe.¹⁸ Fourthly, the house had very close links with the crown;¹⁹ and although this applied perhaps more to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it was nevertheless the scene of more royal visits during the time of Henry III and Edward I than any other Abbey except St Albans.²⁰ This last point has particular bearing on the proposal that Bury is a

16. William Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Suffolk*, 2 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1907) 2:60.

17. See Bryan Houghton, *Saint Edmund - King and Martyr*, (Lavenham, Suffolk: Terence Dalton, 1970) 51-53.

18. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963) 306-9.

19. Thomson, *Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, 2.

likely home for Notre-Dame polyphony. Ian Bent has argued that Henry III's admiration and envy of French customs and products could well have provided the channel for the transmission of the two books of *organum* mentioned in the inventories of the coffers of the Wardrobe.²¹ He suggests that this could have taken place during Henry's visit to France in 1254, when he fulfilled a long-standing desire "to see the churches, the manners and customs of the French, and the magnificent chapel of the French King, at Paris, with its incomparable relics...".²² Just as Henry wished he could "transfer the Sainte-Chapelle bodily to England on a cart,"²³ Bent speculates that he might similarly have wished to carry Parisian *organum* back to his private chapel to hear it performed.²⁴ This was not just a one-way transference of culture and ideas: Ann Walters Robertson suggests that the similarity between some Exeter and Saint-Denis missals was a result of an exchange of liturgical books during Henry's month-long visit to the Abbey in 1259.²⁵ Such an exchange, or at least transference, is equally possible at second hand between London and Bury. Hohler places a great deal of importance on showing that in matters of indigenous polyphony, London and the Court were the producers and the rural Abbeys merely consumers to which polyphony was disseminated. Whether he is correct or not, surely the important matter here is not so much where the polyphony came from, but where it went to. If Anonymous IV fails to talk about East Anglia, perhaps that is because he was lecturing to East Anglians or was an East Anglian, in which case the

20. See Antonia Gransden, *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212-1301* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964) xii.

21. This inventory dates from 1299, but Bent argues that since many of the objects mentioned were regal relics, the books of *organum* might also have survived from a previous reign. In support of this, Bent reminds us that Anonymous IV's "Henry Blakesmit," who was a good singer of *organum*, was at Henry II's court as clerk of the *cappella* in around 1260; and that for Blacksmith to have sung Parisian *organum* - since that is virtually all Anonymous IV is concerned with - presupposes the existence of a book of Notre Dame polyphony. See Ian Bent, "The English Chapel Royal Before 1300," 77-95.

22. Matthew Parris, *Chron. Maj.* Vol. V, 475; quoted in Ian Bent, "The English Chapel Royal," 95.

23. Sir Henry Maurice Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: the community of the realm in the thirteenth century* 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947) I:240.

24. Ian Bent, "The Early History of the English Chapel Royal," 393.

25. Walters Robertson, "*Benedicamus Domino*," 25.

musical activities of East Anglia would have been less interesting as a topic of discussion than those of elsewhere. There is more than a little evidence - albeit circumstantial - to connect Notre-Dame polyphony with the Abbey of Bury; and as a destination, Bury is as likely as St. Andrews to have been receptive to the Parisian style. If this is so, there would be nothing out of the ordinary about a treatise which is mainly concerned with Parisian music being copied there.

While the *Ob* Wood 591 flyleaves yield no clues as to their provenance, the copious *marginalia* do at least give some idea of the binding history. Several names occur both on the parchment flyleaves and the printed book, and one of these, Thomas Loy, adds dates to his inscriptions. One on folio 2 reads

on the day of S. Heugh bishope of Lincoln [i.e. 17th November],
and the first day of the xxxii yeare of oure sovreygne ladye
quene Elizabeth 1589

and another, on folio 3, reads

on Sunday the xxxth of July in the yeare of oure lord one
thousand five hundred four score and xii [i.e. 1592] the xxxiiiith
of quene Elizabeth

1589 would be twenty years after the book's publication, and it is just conceivable that the binding which included the musical parchment went on shortly before this date. But then another inscription on the parchment flyleaves in another hand has written "1660 Feb 9. with this may be bound pettyes pallace of pleasure."²⁶ The only explanation can be that the book was rebound, using the same parchment flyleaves, in 1660. The printed

26. Peter Lefferts comments on this marginalium but cannot have known about the others as he does not comment on them; see "The Motet in England in the Fourteenth-Century," *Current Musicology* 28 (1979) 73n.

book may or may not, then, have originally included the musical flyleaves. Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known about the trade in second-hand parchment in Elizabethan London; *Ob* Wood 591's flyleaves may have come from one of Hohler's musical manuscripts emanating from London and the Court, or else the binder may have obtained his parchment from elsewhere. There is no doubt, at any rate, that the *Ob* Wood 591 flyleaves originated at a rich establishment, as it is one of the most beautifully and ornately flourished music books surviving from England. It is doubtful whether *O laudanda virginitas*, a *conductus* in praise of St. Catherine of Alexandria, can provide even a faint clue to provenance; she is one of the most ubiquitous saints commemorated in the insular repertory.²⁷ Although no fewer than sixty-two English churches were dedicated to her,²⁸ monastic dedications were more sparse. Only one Benedictine house - Blackborough Priory in Norfolk - and one house for Gilbertine canons in Lincoln bore her name, both founded between 1101 and 1150;²⁹ Blackborough Priory was a small mixed house which was finally assigned in about 1200 to the sole use of nuns.³⁰ The presence of a piece for St. Catherine in *Ob* Wood 591 would be scant evidence at best for assigning the manuscript to a house dedicated to St.

27. See Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 173. The poem focuses on the main points from the legend of her life (see Example 5). The cult of this mythical saint began in the ninth century at Mount Sinai, whence her body was supposed to have been transported by angels; she was a noble girl, persecuted for her Christianity, who despised marriage with the Emperor because she was a 'bride of Christ'. She disputed successfully with fifty philosophers who were called in to convince her of the errors of Christianity, but was eventually tortured by being broken on a wheel (hence the term "Catherine wheel"). However, the wheel broke down, injuring bystanders, and she was beheaded; instead of blood, milk flowed from her severed head. Her intercession was valued by a particularly large selection of people: young girls, students (because she disputed successfully); nurses (because milk replaced blood); and craftsmen whose work was based on the wheel: wheelwrights, spinners, millers.

28. See David H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; 2nd edn. 1987) 77. The dedications are listed in Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints* 3 vols (London: Skeffington and Son, 1899) 3:344-45.

29. Compare this number with the two hundred and thirty-five dedications to the Virgin - the most popular - and twenty-nine to St. Peter - the second most popular - between 1066 and 1216. Catherine comes seventeenth overall, although during the period 1101 to 1150 - when the Virgin got ninety-six dedications and James, in second place, fourteen - Catherine moves up to ninth place. See Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1216* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989) 18-27.

30. David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953) 59 and 210.

Catherine - she is also celebrated in several motets³¹ - and it is more than a little unlikely that this source could have emanated from either of the two humble houses dedicated to this saint.

In many respects, the problems which *Ob* Wood 591 raises are similar to those of *DRu* Bamburgh Sel. 13 which transmits, also on binding material from a printed book, two insular pieces - a *conductus* and a motet - in honour of St. Peter. In this case what now appears as a flyleaf must once have been used as reinforcing material in the spine, as it has been stuck together after vertical slicing; the original front flyleaf was a page of Caxton type 4* print.³² There are no signs of pastedown marks on the back board. Hygden's *Polycronycon* was published in 1495 in London, but according to Ian Doyle,³³ the binding which survives to the present day must have been put on about fifty years after that date; further, the tooling patterns on the leather cannot be identified with London work and are therefore likely to have been provincial. There are several names of early owners in the book; perhaps it was one of these who was severely anti-Catholic - every mention of the Pope is deleted in heavy black ink - and it would be interesting to know at what exact stage during the difficult religious history of the Tudor reign this desecration took place. Mainly the names are of members of the Heyden family: John, Elizabeth and Bridget, who were from Norwich; the book at some stage passed to Thomas Cebyll of Watton in Norfolk. There is no way of knowing whether the parchment fragments found their way into the original binding in London or at a later date into the re-binding in - if the testimony of the names is correct - Norwich. It would certainly be injudicious to assign the fragments to Norwich on the grounds of the provenance of the rebinding and the early owners, and even more so on the evidence of two motets to St. Peter. On the other hand, if the parchment fragments were from the

31. See Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 171; I am also grateful to William Summers for bringing to my attention the motets for St. Catherine in Worcester Fragment XXXIX/1, newly-discovered by him.

32. Identified by Dr. A. Ian Doyle in a note inside the book.

33. I am very grateful for the personal help of Dr. Ian Doyle of Durham University with this source.

original London binding, then the compositions to St. Peter immediately suggest links both through subject matter and provenance with the motet *Pro beati Pauli* from the Westminster Abbey source *Lwa* Muniment 33327 which, along with St. Paul, celebrates Peter as the patron saint of the church. Some evidence does point to a London, specifically Westminster, provenance for this leaf.

Llp 752 yields even less about its provenance. It has not even been possible to establish conclusively how the codex came to be at Lambeth Palace Library. It arrived in the late seventeenth century, at some point during Thomas Tenison's time as Archbishop of Canterbury (1694 to 1715), and must either have been acquired during this period or else taken there by him on his elevation to the primacy. The majority of the volumes brought to Lambeth in this way had either previously belonged at Tenison's Library in St. Martin's Lane, one of the first public libraries in England which he had founded during his period as Vicar of the Parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, or, more typically, had been in his "closet" at the St. Martin's Library.³⁴ There is no mention of the manuscript in his "Catalogue of my Books in my Closet in St. Martin's Library,"³⁵ though there is an entry reading: "Fl: Vegetius Renatus: *Institutionum Rei Militaris, cum comm: Steweckij*" in the 1693 St. Martin's library catalogue which was compiled by the assistant librarian Mr. Holmes.³⁶ This probably does not refer to the printed edition of *De re militari* with a commentary by G. Stewechi which was published in 1592³⁷ as the entry is qualified with "script"; also, there is unusually no date of publication entered in the catalogue. It seems unlikely that Tenison would have removed volumes from the St. Martin's library unless they were his own property; when he did transfer books or manuscripts, the entry for that volume would usually be deleted and the extraction noted

34. The information on Archbishop Tenison is from Peter Hoare, "Archbishop Tenison's Library at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1684-1861. With Notes on the History of Archbishop Tenison's Grammar School" (Dip. Lib dissertation, University of London, 1963).

35. *Llp* 1707.

36. *Llp* 1708.

37. Flavius Vegetius Renatus and others, *Flavii Vegetii Renati*

by the term "returned to his Grace." However, the volume must have disappeared from the Library some time before 1861, when its contents were auctioned off at Sotheby's, for no mention of any likely volume can be found in the sale catalogue.³⁸ If the confusing entry in the St. Martin's Library catalogue *does* refer to MS 752 - and this is a very tentative guess - then *De re militari* may have been one of the items donated by the munificent Sir Charles Cotterell in the mid-1680s, among which were some military books.³⁹ If this was the case, then it might be possible to posit a link for the manuscript with Sir Charles's ancestor James Cotterell, who was the last Abbot at the Augustinian house of St. Thomas's, Dublin before its dissolution in 1539. At least one other item passed to Tenison's library at St. Martin's Lane in this way, a missal according to the use of the Augustinian Canons regular, now *Lbl* Add. 24198.⁴⁰

At first glance, there seems to be a certain truth in Dom Anselm Hughes's remark that "No musicologist who has read the reference of Anonymous IV to 'Westcuntre'... can fail to be struck by the possible underlying implications."⁴¹ Handschin first brought this up in "The Sumer Canon and its Background," observing, as was later paraphrased by Roger Bowers, that continental pieces occur in sources all but one of which

appear to derive from monastic institutions on the eastern side of England. It may have been this susceptibility to continental influence in the east, contrasting with a prevailing immunity from it in, for instance, the valleys of the Severn and the Wye (the provenance of the "Worcester Fragments"), that caused a commentator of c. 1280, himself probably

38. *Catalogue of the Valuable Library formed by Archbishop Tenison, During the Reigns of King Charles II, James II, William III and Queen Anne* (London: S. Leigh Sotheby and John Wilkinson, 1861).

39. I am grateful to Peter Hoare for pointing out this connection in a private communication of 24th May 1990.

40. Hoare, "Archbishop Tenison's Library," 155-6. The Sotheby catalogue lists the sale of *Lbl* Add. 24198 and suggests that the MS went to the British Museum in 1861, not 1867 as listed in *RISM BIV*₁, 513.

41. Anselm Hughes, "The Topography of English Mediaeval Polyphony," *In Memoriam Jacques Handschin*, ed. Higinio Anglès and others (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1962) 127.

from Bury St. Edmunds, to make his well-known observation on the prevalence of certain distinct compositional practices in what to him was the "Westcuntre."⁴²

Even *W₁* has East Anglian connections through the source which must represent the St. Andrews liturgy, *F-Pn* lat. 12036, and which is "modelled on an East-Anglian dialect of Sarum use"⁴³ particularly through the presence of rhymed offices for the four principal saints associated with Ely: Ermengild, her mother Sexburga, and her sisters Etheldreda and Withburga, all of whose collective Translation was celebrated on 17th October. It is true that broad areas of difference can be divined in other fields. The architectural response in England to experimental Gothic styles was, regionally, immensely varied; whereas the influence of the characteristic west-country school of architecture spread to the north and must clearly have been an expression of genuine preference over the French Gothic style, the south east was closer in every way to France and was open to continental ideas and fashions to an extent that did not apply elsewhere.⁴⁴ This of course was the area geographically more in touch with the continent through trading than the north. This fact alone - the variation in the rate at which manifestations of religious culture occurred in different geographical areas of England - must make us question the idea of a homocentric musical culture whose products were then disseminated to rural areas, as postulated by Hohler.

There can be little doubt about the provenance of the composite source *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* with *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19, which constitutes one of the largest collections of fragmentary remains excluding *W₁*. While *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* is an old source to modern scholarship, *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 was only rediscovered in June 1982, when the

42. Roger Bowers, "Trinity MS 0. 2. 1. *Liber Eliensis* bound with Lives of the Ely Saints, s. xiii ex," *Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 47.

43. Everist, "From Paris to St. Andrews," 10.

Bodleian Library bought a collection of about fifty fragments from medieval liturgical manuscripts at Sotheby's. The collection had been compiled in the mid-nineteenth century by Dr W. D. Macray, Rector of Ducklington and cataloguer of Rawlinson manuscripts A-D; Macray was the self-declared first Bodleian official to stop binders from throwing away fragments when they rebound Bodleian books, although it appears that rather than for Library use, Macray had in effect "stolen" the fragments for his personal use.⁴⁵ This is the collection which is now housed under the shelfmark Lat. liturg. b. 19. Folio four proves to have belonged to the binding of the Salisbury pontifical Rawl. C. 400, whose remaining binding fragments were removed in 1952 at the request of Luther Dittmer, and which are now kept separately under the shelfmark Rawl. C. 400*.

The Pontifical *Ob* Rawl. C. 400 was made for Roger de Mortival, bishop of Salisbury from 1315 to 1330, who bequeathed it for the use of his successors at Salisbury Cathedral. Hohler has already observed that it would be tempting to assign the binding fragments to Salisbury, were it not for the evidence of some corn-rents from the villages of Blewbury and Hendred, all of which belonged to Reading Abbey, entered on the dorse of the second *rotulus*; there were evidently close ties between Salisbury and Reading: Reading was in the Diocese of Salisbury and the Bishop had a palace at Sonning.⁴⁶ *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 contains more corn rents entered on the dorse, this time from Wokingham.

As Dittmer stated, the *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* fragments constitute three items:(a): a booklet made up of two double leaves from a codex, the middle of a gathering, containing only texts, with space left for music to be entered later - these had formed the front flyleaves

44. John Musgrove (ed.), *Sir Bannister Fletcher's A History of Architecture* (19th edn; London: Butterworth's, 1987) 416.

45. See Bruce Barker Benfield, "Notable Accessions: Western Manuscripts," *Bodleian Library Record* 11 (1983) 114-118.

46. Hohler, "Reflections," 19-22.

of MS *Ob* Rawl. C. 400; (*b*) four fragments of polyphonic music from a *rotulus*, and: (*c*) two fragments of polyphonic music from another *rotulus* - R. W. Hunt described these as "six scraps formerly pasted in the back cover," though Hohler says these "can hardly have got into the binding except as stiffeners for the spine." Folio four of Lat. liturg. b. 19 has been discovered to form the top half of the second roll, (*c*) - Barker-Benfield suggests its place in the binding of *Ob* Rawl. C. 400 would have been either a lining sheet between leather and board or part of a pad of vellum used to stiffen the cover. There has been some confusion over the exact relationship which the booklet and two rolls bear to each other. Hohler points out that the Pontifical was rebound in about 1600, and that

fragments once stiffening its spine [i.e. those six making up (*b*) and (*c*)] are most unlikely to be relics of its medieval binding... the flyleaves on the other hand, which must have been discarded as soon as written, presumably do belong to the medieval binding...⁴⁷

In fact this is not the case. The text hand of the booklet,⁴⁸ (*a*), is the same as that on the *verso* of the first roll, (*b*); whereas the text hand on the *recto* of the first roll is the same as that on the *verso* of the second roll, (*c*). (This questions Barker-Benfield's assertion that "The text hands of (*a*), (*b*) *verso*, and (*c*) *recto* are the same.") Thus this collection represents no more than two text hands. If text hand (*a*) of the booklet added the polyphony to the dorse of roll (*b*) at a later date, then all three sources did not necessarily share a common origin. Although the two hands would appear to have been roughly contemporaneous, it is possible that the work of the booklet hand represents a time well after the hand that appears on the *recto* of both rolls, especially given that if

47. Hohler, "Reflections," 20.

48. I use the terms "booklet" and "rolls" for ease of reference. In this case, "booklet" is synonymous with "*libellus*," for whose meaning see especially Pamela Robinson, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Essais typologiques*, ed. Albert Gruys and Johan-Peter Gumbert, *Codicologica* 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980) 46-69.

the Roger de Mortival Pontifical of the first quarter of the fourteenth century represents first-generation binding usage for the booklet, this would mean that these two useless bifolia lay around for as much as fifty years before being employed as binding parchment. There is no reason why the rolls should have been discarded as immediately after having been copied as the booklet, and it is likely on balance that the rolls were copied first, discarded, then one was used for the recording of the corn rents and the other for the copying of other polyphonic music. Either way, it is more logical that the "later" polyphony, whose texts are in the same hand as the booklet, came from the same area as the corn rents, though not necessarily from the same area as the "earlier" polyphony - when the rolls were discarded, they must have gone to or stayed in the same place as each other, as they later appear all together in the same binding. Thus, Hohler's reluctance to allow the spine-stiffening fragments - i.e. the fragments from the *rotuli* - as part of the original, medieval binding must be wrong. Although this still does not mean that the booklet, music on the *verso* of the first roll and corn rents share a common origin with the "early" polyphony on the roll, certain characteristic stylistic features of the music suggest that they do. These are discussed in §VI.

Dittmer had assigned the fragments to Reading on other grounds. In 1924, Falconer Madan transcribed and described a text which had been scratched with a metal stylus on a blank end leaf of MS *Ob* Bodley 125, a twelfth-century copy of the *Collationes* of Odo of Cluny.⁴⁹ In it, Brother W. de Wicumbe describes various copying tasks - many of them clearly onerous - assigned to him during a four-year period at Leominster Priory. He corrected and amalgamated the *collectarium* according to the Use of Reading, saying that "this was the first of his works and it burdened him considerably though it might have appeared small." He goes on to describe other books which he wrote - each time using the construction "*Scriptisit eciam*" or "*Excerpsit eciam...*": a Customary, a "very useful book which is called Augustine *De spiritu et anima*," a book

49. Reproduced in "The Literary Work of a Benedictine Monk at Leominster in the Thirteenth Century," *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 4 (1924) 168-170, and subsequently in Schofield, "The Provenance and Date of 'Sumer is Icumen in'," 84.

on the Marian Mass "on his own parchment," a compilation of musical treatises, verses, various works of Gregory and Isidore of Seville, the letters of Jerome and Augustine, a Psalter. The antepenultimate paragraph mentions Brother Hugh of Wicumbe's History of St. Margaret "*composuit notam cantus ipse W. imposuit*"; after which W. de Wicumbe records that "*scripsit eciam duas rotulas unam continentem triplices cantus organi numero. Aliam continentem duplices cantus numero.*"

Dittmer connected the two *rotuli* mentioned with the two *rotuli* of *Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, especially as a Life of St. Margaret had been entered on the *verso* of the second roll - later to be scraped off in order for the corn-rents to be recorded.⁵⁰ He further used evidence of another Reading manuscript, *Lbl* Harley 978, to place the Rawlinson fragments. It is well known that at the end of *Lbl* Harley 978 there is a list of compositions; this was first published by Ludwig in *Repertorium* and most recently by Lefferts.⁵¹ This list is an index to a book belonging to W. de Wintonia, an apparently troublesome monk of Reading, who was sent to "dumping ground"⁵² Leominster during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The index begins with eight items, the last four of which are Alleluyas. To the right of the eighth item, there is a symbol which Hohler interprets as a bracket, after which has been written *P^oea R. W. de Wic.*: widely interpreted as "*postea responsoria W. de Wicumbe.*"⁵³ The list continues with Alleluya settings - the Alleluya of course being a responsorial chant. In both Ludwig's and Lefferts's lists, the inscription "*postea responsoria W. de Wicumbe*" has been somewhat misleadingly represented by having been entered on a separate line, interrupting the first eight and subsequent items. The assumption has been that items subsequent to the first

50. Luther Dittmer, "An English Discantum Volumen," *Musica disciplina* 8 (1954) 36.

51. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 162.

52. Hohler uses this term to describe the relationship cells, or dependencies, bore to their parent houses in "Reflections," 16.

53. Dittmer's idea that W. de Wicumbe is to be identified with a William of Winchcombe mentioned in the Worcester Annals ("An English Discantum Volumen," 35) has now long been questioned (see especially Hohler, "Reflections," and Sanders, "Wycombe, W. de," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20:552-553, though Caldwell repeats the earlier supposition that they were one and the same person (*From the Beginnings*, 36).

eight were composed by W. de Wicumbe. Hohler asserts that *Postea Response W. de Wic.*, as he expands the text,

cannot be the heading to anything that follows, since nothing that follows (in either column) could be called a Response. It must therefore mean that W. de Wic.'s Responses had been inserted in a blank space or on an added quire at the point indicated, interrupting the series of alleluias which were what primarily interested the author of the index.⁵⁴

Even though what follows can very well be called Responses, Hohler's suggestion that W. de Wic.'s Responsories had been inserted in a blank space or on an added quire at the point indicated is still valid. We cannot assume that *postea responsoria W. de Wicumbe* necessarily refers to the Alleluyas which follow the eighth item, and hence that W. de Wicumbe was the composer of this cycle of Alleluyas - even though the idea of an "English Leoninus" is attractive.

Dittmer found concordances between the Reading index and *Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, and these concordances and the evidence of *Ob* Bodley 125, rather than the evidence of the corn-rents, led him to suggest that *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* was from Reading. He found further concordances between the Reading index and the "Worcester fragments," and linked W. de Wicumbe's activity in Leominster Priory - information which W. de Wicumbe had given about himself in *Ob* Bodley 125 - with the fact that Leominster is very near to Worcester, positing a connection between the "School of Worcester" and the compositional activities of W. de Wicumbe.⁵⁵ Since *Sumer is icumen in* is found in the same manuscript as the Reading index - *Lbl* Harley 978 - Sanders suggests that

54. Hohler, "Reflections," 13.

55. Dittmer, "An English *Discantuum Volumen*," 35-45.

it is even conceivable that W. de Wycombe composed the rota itself, a good many years before he was sent to Leominster; several years later he evidently originated the idea of adding freely composed voice-exchange polyphony as tropes to cantus firmus settings. W. de Wintonia's manuscript was then compiled some time after both men returned to Reading from their service at Reading's cell in Herefordshire.⁵⁶

Does the discovery of *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 add anything to what we know about the relationship between music at Reading Abbey, the "Worcester fragments," and W. de Wicambe? Especially, does this clutch of sources allow us to narrow down any particular practices to a defined geographical area?

Freely-composed voice-exchange polyphony added as tropic material to cantus firmus settings is in fact not noticeably a special characteristic of the Reading compositions: of those pieces on the rolls and booklet only *Alleluya Christo jubilemus* and *Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica* evince the characteristic, and for the latter we have evidence of wide dissemination.⁵⁷ In contrast, *rondellus* sections as introductions to troped Alleluya settings are found nowhere other than among the Reading compositions (see below, §V,ii). It is impossible to say that these *rondellus*-Alleluya settings were never copied into the Worcester volumes, only that evidence that they were, and that there was musical contact between these "Westcuntre" centres, is lacking. In any case, although the lost Reading index provides some evidence that W. de Wicambe composed

56. Sanders, "Wycombe, W. de."

57. See catalogue entries 44a and 44b. The four versions of this composition can be summed up as follows. Those from Worcester Reconstructions 1 and 2 have the same voice-exchange opening though in different transpositions. Then different verses follow: WOR 1 tropes the verse *Post partum*, WOR 2 the verse *Dulce lignum*. Only parts of the tenor and the triplum of WOR 1's *Post partum*, survives. Only the very end of the tenor and the *motetus* of WOR 2's *Dulce lignum* survives. After the voice-exchange opening, they are two different compositions. The text transmitted in *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* substantially matches, in content and layout, what remains of WOR 1's *Post partum*, and probably would have constituted a musical concordance - if notation had been entered. The music of *Alle psalite cum luya* in *F-MO* H. 196 consists of the opening voice-exchange section only. Discussions of the composition(s) can be found in Handschin, "The Sumer Canon and its Background," 67; *ibidem*, review of Dom Anselm Hughes's *Worcester Medieval Harmony* in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1932-3) 54-61; Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen," 31-32.

responsories, W. de Wicumbe does not actually say he composed the music on the rolls; he uses "*scripsit*" to describe his writing activities here, the same verb as he also uses to describe his copying of Augustine's *De spiritu et anima* - whereas he does use the phrase "*notam cantus ipse W. imposuit*" to describe his contribution to Hugh Wicumbe's History of St. Margaret. If part of the Reading index does refer to W. de Wicumbe's compositions, it is then not necessarily the case that concordances should be found among the songs on the *rotuli*. *Mirabilis deus* is not mentioned at all in the index, although the incipit of the second verse - *Mira federa* - does appear in the correct section, "*Motetti cum duplici littera*."

If assigning flyleaves to the provenance of their parent volumes is dangerous, then nowhere is more caution needed than in dealing with the "Worcester fragments." The types and dates of the volumes in which the fragments travelled as binding material are diverse in type as well as date. The volumes which bear evidence for having at least been at Worcester at some point are as follows: *Lbl* Add. 25031; *Ob* Auct. F. Inf. i. 3, the parent volume of *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folios 12-19; *Ob* Bodley 862, the parent volume of *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folios 23-25, 28 and 34-35; *Ob* Hatton 30, the parent volume of *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folio 22; *WOc* Q 72, according to hearsay,⁵⁸ the parent volume of *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment IX; *WOc* F 37, the parent volume of *WOc* Add. 68, Fragments XIXb and XIXc; *WOc* F 43, the parent volume of *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXIX.

There is nothing to connect the following manuscripts with Worcester:

WOc F. 125, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment X;

WOc F. 133, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment XI;

WOc F. 152, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment XX;

58. Roger Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 12.

WOc F. 64, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment XIXa;

WOc F. 34, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment XXVIII;

WOc F. 109, the parent volume of *WOc* Fragment XXX.

Although not all the parent volumes can be directly assigned to Worcester, however, all three reconstructed volumes contain leaves with Worcester connections: Reconstruction 1 combines material from *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment X, *Lbl* Add. 25031, *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXXI and *Ob* Auct. F. Inf. i. 3. Reconstruction 2 contains leaves from *Ob* Bodley 862 and *WOc* Add. 68, Fragments XXXV and IX. Reconstruction 3 has material from *WOc* Add. 68, Fragments XIXb and XIXc. While the parent manuscripts were not necessarily of Worcester provenance, they seem to have been bound or re-bound in Worcester during the fourteenth century, at the time when the anthologies of music used for their binding would have become out of date.

The major question concerning the provenance of the volumes from which the surviving fragments originate has centred on three possibilities. The first is that they were written at and for Worcester Cathedral Priory; the second is that they were not written at or for Worcester but nevertheless were taken and subsequently used there; the third is that they never had anything to do with Worcester but arrived there via a travelling binder who obtained them either from any nearby house or from another Benedictine house, not necessarily near.

The survival of the major part of a thirteenth-century Worcester gradual plus a collection of troped Kyrie, Gloria, troped Sanctus and troped Agnus dei chants (*WOc* F. 160, folios 292-352) has made it possible to compare the chants therein with those that were set in polyphony from the reconstructed "Worcester" volumes. The task of matching all the set chants from the polyphonic volumes with those in surviving plainchant sources will be a mission in itself and is outside the scope of this dissertation. In themselves, such results would be meaningless outside an exhaustive study of the relationship of chant to polyphony composed upon it. In turn, such results would only to

the most incautious represent anything approaching a "control group." We must acknowledge that while an exact match of material between the polyphony in question and, uniquely, one chant source might be the basis for a conclusion, any other set of data means neither one thing nor another. Craig Wright cautions that "assessing the degree to which a fund of aurally retained music may have been used in the process of polyphonic composition is a speculative business at best." Such questions are similarly fundamental to this discussion of the "Worcester" polyphony.⁵⁹ Similarly, the potential problem of alteration by conscious will is entirely an unknown quantity.

Given these caveats, a preliminary comparison between the chant settings from Worcester Reconstructions 1, 2 and 3 and WOc F. 160 has been undertaken and has yielded interesting results, though what seems initially to be an extensive list of pieces for possible comparison is considerably shortened because the chant voice is lacking in many of the polyphonic works. The versions of the chants as found in the gradual and in the polyphony are shown in Figure 2. Worcester Reconstruction 1 contains a total of eighteen chant settings and *cantus firmus* motets. The chants of eight of these can be located both in the polyphony and in the gradual:

- 1: *...anges-Lux et gloria-Kyrieleyson*
- 2: *Salve sancta parens virgo-Salve sancta parens enixa*
- 3: *Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluya V. Post partum*
- 4: *Beata supernorum-Benedicta Virgo dei genitrix*
- 5: *Alleluya canite-Alleluya V. Pascha nostrum*
- 6: *Alma iam-Alme matris-Alleluya V. Per te dei genitrix*
- 7: *Gaude Maria plaude-Gaude Maria virgo*
- 8: *Pro beati Pauli etc.-[Pro patribus]*

59. See *Music and Ceremony*, 251. Wright shows exemplary care in dealing with the chants of Notre Dame of Paris and those on which the polyphonic settings of the *Magnus liber organi* are based.

FIGURE 2: COMPARISON OF CHANTS FROM POLYPHONY IN WORCESTER RECONSTRUCTION 1 AND FROM WORCESTER GRADUAL

1: ...anges-Lux et gloria-Kyrieleyson
Kyrie Fons et origo, WOc F.160, f.288'

2: Salve sancta parens virgo-Salve sancta parens enixa
Salve sancta parens enixa, WOc F.160, f. 341

3: Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluia V. Post partum
Alleluia V. Post partum, WOc F.160, f.342

4: Beata supernorum-Benedicta Virgo dei genitrix
Benedicta Virgo dei genitrix, WOc F.160, f.341

5: Alleluia canite-Alleluia V. Pascha nostrum
Alleluia V. Pascha nostrum, WOc F.160, f.320

6: Alma iam-Alme mairis-Alleluia V. Per te
Alleluia V. Per te dei genitrix, WOc F.160, f.342

7: Gaude Maria plaudite-Gaude Maria virgo
Gaude Maria virgo, WOc F.160, f. 335'
followed by & Pro beati Pauli etc. [Pro martiribus]

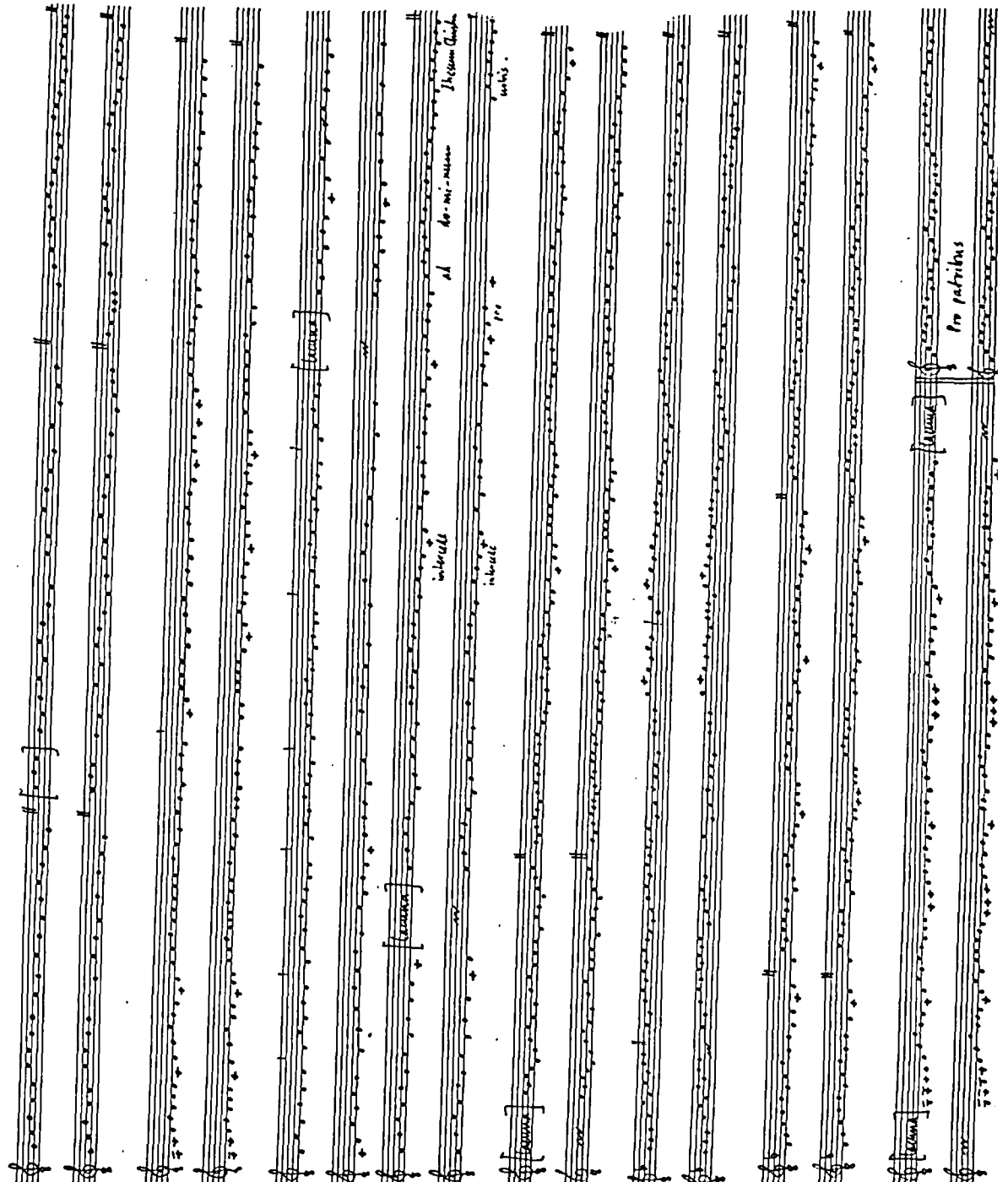


Figure 2 shows that in all of these settings, there are minor or substantial differences between the chant from the gradual and that on which the polyphony is based.

More damning, perhaps, is that the two sources are out of order with each other. The compositions are numbered in the list above according to their relative placement in the polyphonic source, but in the gradual they occur in the order 1 (folio 288'), 5 (folio 320), 7 (folio 335'), 2 (folio 341, 1), 4 (folio 341, 2), 6 (folio 342, 1) and 3 (folio 342, 2). The position of *Pro beati Pauli* is uncertain in the polyphonic source as it is from Fragment XIII. The chant occurs on folio 345.

Worcester Reconstruction 2 contains twenty-one chant settings and *cantus firmus* motets. Only three of the five Sanctus chants could be found in the gradual, but one of these is so fragmentary that a comparison cannot be made. The two which remain show a large amount of variation. Also traceable was *Salve mater-Salve lux-Salve sine-Salve sancta parens enixa*. Comparisons between the chants can be seen in Figure 3a. For Reconstruction 3, the majority of the chants cannot be found in the gradual.¹ One Sanctus was discovered, and again, there are differences between the chant from the plainsong source and that from the polyphony; see Figure 3b.

The chant source does not, then, offer proof that the "Worcester fragments" were written either at or for Worcester. The most damning evidence is not the lack of correspondence between the chants and the chant settings but the fact that so many of them cannot be found at all. In the case of the Ordinary chants, this cannot be owing to *lacunae* in the chant source as these two sections of the manuscript are contiguous with other sections which begin on the same page.² But some caution must be exercised here. F. 160 undoubtedly does not represent a reliable guide to all Worcester liturgy. It does not offer

1. See William J. Summers, "Unknown and Unidentified English Polyphonic Music from the Fourteenth Century," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 19 (1983-5) 57-67.

2. The Kyries end in the middle of folio 292 and the Glorias follow straight on. The Sanctuses begin in the middle of folio 348', following straight on from a group of proses; the Agnus deis follow the Sanctuses immediately, in the middle of folio 350. Noted *Laudes regie* begin after the Agnus deis, in the middle of folio 352. Nothing has been lost internally from any of these collections and they all seem to be complete in themselves.

FIGURE 3a: COMPARISON OF CHANTS FROM POLYPHONY IN WORCESTER RECONSTRUCTION 1 AND FROM WORCESTER GRADUAL

Sanctus Adonay genitor
Sanctus ingenite genitor, WOe F.160, f. 349'

Sanctus deus ens ingentor
Sanctus clemens deus pater, WOe F.160, f.349

Salve mater-Salve lux-Salve spina-Salve sancta
Salve sancta parens enixa, WOe F.160, f. 341

FIGURE 3b: COMPARISON OF CHANTS FROM POLYPHONY IN WORCESTER RECONSTRUCTION 2 AND FROM WORCESTER GRADUAL

[Sanctus], WOe Add. 68, Fragment XIX
Sanctus, WOe F.160, f. 349

proof that the "Worcester fragments" were *not* written for Worcester, only negative evidence.

If the volumes were used at Worcester, then they may have been bought as "off-the-peg" anthologies of well-known and useful compositions. This would make some sense of the peculiar ordering of the pieces (see §V,ii) as well as the large number of concordances in other insular manuscripts. In turn, this opens up the possibility that some of the compositions may well indeed have been Worcester pieces. But if Worcester was not a centre of polyphonic composition, what implications does this raise for the concept of a "Westcuntre" school and the supposed link between there and Reading?

There are about twenty internal concordances for the insular repertory (see Table 1). Excluding Notre-Dame *conducti*, about nine pieces have continental concordances (see Table 2). Given that the "Worcester fragments" probably represent anthologies of older compositions, we would expect - if the idea of a "Westcuntre" school is tenable - to see at least some Reading pieces transmitted. However, there is only one concordance with the Reading repertory: *Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica*, and this is not on balance likely to have originated in Reading since it is dissimilar in compositional technique to the other Reading pieces (see §III) and is transmitted not only elsewhere among the "Worcester fragments" but also as a *contrafactum* in *F-MO* H. 196 (this is not necessarily to claim historical priority for the insular versions). Worcester concordances can be extrapolated from Table 2 and show no other concordance patterns which can be isolated.

Table 1: Insular sources: internal concordances

item	"Worcester" repertory	other	continental concordance? (see Table 2)
<i>A deserto veniens</i>	*	<i>WJ</i> , f.134 <i>Cjec</i> QB.1	
<i>Ave magnifica</i>	WOR 1, 20		
<i>Ave mirifica</i>	WOR 2, 16	<i>Ob</i> Rawl. C.400* [text only]	yes
<i>Alleluia Post partum/ Dulce lignum</i>			
<i>Candens crescit lilium</i>	WOR 2, 13	<i>Cpc</i> 228	
<i>Candens lilium columbina</i>		<i>US-NYpm</i> M. 978	
<i>[Primus tenor]</i>			
<i>Quartus cantus</i>			
<i>Et in terra pax</i>	WOR 3, 8	<i>Ob</i> Mus. c. 60, 10	
<i>Fulget celestis curia</i>	WOR 1, 32	<i>Onc</i> 16	
<i>O petre</i>			
<i>Roma gaudet</i>			
<i>In excelsis gloria</i>	WOc Add. 68, Frag. XX	<i>US-Cu</i> 654 App.	
<i>Kyrie fons pietatis</i>	WOR 1, 30	<i>Ob</i> Mus. c. 60	
<i>Kyrie pater venerande</i>			
<i>Tenor</i>			
<i>Loquelis archangeli</i>	WOR 1, 19 WOR 2, 26		
<i>Lux et gloria</i>	WOR 1, 2	<i>Ccl</i>	
<i>Kyrieleison</i>			
<i>Mellis stilla, maris stella</i>	*	<i>Ob</i> Rawlinson G.18	yes
<i>Domino</i>		<i>Ccc</i> 8, f. 256	
<i>Pro beati Pauli</i>	WOc Add. 68, Frag. XIII	<i>Lwa</i> Muniment 33327	
<i>O Pastor</i>	(= WOR 1?)		
<i>O preclara</i>			
<i>Pes</i>			
<i>Quem trina polluit</i>	WOR 2, 29	<i>DRu</i> Barnburgh Sel. 13	
<i>Regis aula regentis</i>	*	<i>US-PRu</i> Garrett 119 <i>Lbl</i> Add. 24198	
<i>Salve mater gratie</i>	*	<i>US-PRu</i> Garrett 119	
<i>Douway Robin</i>		<i>Lbl</i> Cotton Frag. XXIX	
<i>Salve mater misericordie</i>	*	<i>Ob</i> Wood 591 <i>Occ</i> 489	
<i>Salve sancta parens virgo</i>			
<i>Salve sancta parens virgo</i>			
<i>Salve sancta parens enixa</i>	WOR 1, 9	<i>Ob</i> Mus. c. 60	
<i>Sanctus et eternus</i>	WOc Add 68, Frag. XIII		
<i>Sanctus</i>	(=WOR 1?) WOR 2,21		
<i>Senator regis curie</i>	WOR 1, 11	<i>D-Gs</i> Theol. 220g	
<i>Primus pes</i>			
<i>Secundus pes</i>			
<i>Spiritus et abne</i>	*	<i>Lwa</i> Box 3/1; 0 <i>US-Cu</i> 654 App.	
<i>Thomas gemma</i>	WOR 2, 27	<i>Cgc</i> 543/512; <i>US-PRu</i> Garrett 119	
<i>Thomas cesus</i>			
<i>Primus tenor</i>			
<i>Secundus tenor</i>			

Table 2: Concordances with manuscripts outside 13th-century insular sources

<i>Age penitentiam</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>W₁, f. 164'</i>	<i>F, f. 340'; Ma, f. 65</i>
<i>Agmina militie</i> <i>Agmina militie</i> <i>[T.Agmina]</i>	<i>Ctc 0. 2. 1.</i>	<i>F, f. 396</i>
<i>Alleluia V. Dies sanctificatus</i>	<i>Cu Ff. 2. 29</i> <i>W₁, f. 41</i>	<i>F, f. 140</i>
<i>Amor patris et filii</i>	<i>Lbl Burney 357</i>	<i>I-CFm Cod. LVI</i>
<i>Amor veint tout</i> <i>Au tens d'este</i> <i>Et Gaudebit</i>	<i>Lbl Cotton Vesp. A. XVIII</i>	<i>F-MO H. 196, f. 29'; D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 5'</i>
<i>Anni favor iubiliei</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i>	<i>F, f. 347</i>
<i>Au queer ay un maus</i> <i>Ja ne mi reperntiray</i> <i>Jolietement</i>	<i>Ob Douce 139</i>	<i>D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 32; F-MO H. 196, f. 283'; I-Tr Vari 42, f. 24</i>
<i>Austro terris</i>	<i>Llp 752</i> <i>W₁, f. 112</i>	<i>F, f. 299'; W₂, f. 104'; Ma, f. 69; D-HEu 2588;</i> <i>D-Sl HB. I Asc. 95; CH-Zma C58/275; CH-ENk 102</i>
<i>Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris</i> <i>[T. Domino] (Duce creatur)</i>	<i>Lbl Harley 978</i>	<i>Ob Lyell 72, f. 161'; D-BAs Lit. 115, f. 1; D-DS 3471, f. 8a';</i> <i>D-DO 882, f. 177; E-BULh f. 100'; F-Pa 3517-8, f. 117;</i> <i>F-Pn n. a. f. 13521, f. 369'; F-Pm 307, f. 206';</i> <i>F-MO H. 196, f. 89'; (W₂, f. 140)</i>
<i>Ave magnifica</i> <i>Ave mirifica</i> <i>Alleluia</i> <i>(Alle psallite cum luya)</i>	<i>WOR 1, 20;</i> <i>WOR 2, 16;</i> <i>Ob C. 400* (text)</i>	<i>F-MO H. 196, f. 392</i>
<i>Ave tuos benedic</i>	<i>Owc 213*</i>	<i>F, f. 366</i>
<i>Beate virginis</i>	<i>Ob Wood 591</i> <i>W₁, f. 156</i>	<i>F, f. 283'; Ma, f. 54'; D-HEu 2588; F-Pn lat. 18571;</i> <i>Lbl Add. 22604</i>
<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>W₁, f. 71</i>	<i>F, f. 231'; W₂, f. 46' and 138'; E-BULh, f. 97;</i> <i>D-Sl HB. I Asc. 95, f. 31; D-Mbs clm. 4660, f. 13</i>
<i>Deduc Syon</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>W₁, f. 150'</i>	<i>F, f. 336; Ma, f. 83; W₂, f. 93; D-Mbs clm. 4660</i>
<i>Fas et nephas</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>Ob Rawl. C. 510 (text))</i>	<i>F, f. 225; D-Mbs clm. 4660; D-FU C. 11;</i> <i>F-LYm 623; Ccc 202</i>
<i>Fulget Nicholaus</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>W₁, f. 76</i>	<i>F, f. 219'</i>
<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i> <i>W₁, f. 158</i>	<i>F, f. 291; Csc 117*</i>
<i>Gloria in excelsis</i> <i>deo redemptori meo</i>	<i>Cjec QB. 1</i>	<i>F, f. 341; W₁, f. 95'; Ma, f. 92</i>

<i>Hec est rosa</i> [=str.2 of <i>Ortu regis</i>]	<i>Llp</i> 752 <i>W₁</i> , f. 117	<i>F</i> , ff. 216 & 307; <i>W₂</i> , f. 101; <i>Ma</i> , f. 81
<i>In odoris</i> <i>In odore</i> <i>T.[In odorem]</i>	<i>Occ</i> 497	<i>F-MO</i> H. 196, f. 107
<i>In veritate comperi</i> <i>In veritate comperi</i> <i>T.[Veritatem]</i>	<i>Cic</i> 0.2.1.	<i>F</i> , f. 398
<i>Ista dies</i>	<i>Ob</i> Wood 591 <i>W₁</i> , f. 159	<i>F</i> , f. 274; <i>Ma</i> , f. 56
<i>Leniter ex merito</i>	<i>Cjec</i> QB. 1 <i>W₁</i> , f. 12 and 74' <i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 510 (text)	<i>F</i> , f. 224'
<i>Mellis stilla, maris stella</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawl G. 18 <i>Ccc</i> 8	<i>F-BSM</i> 119; <i>F-CA</i> A. 410; <i>F-MO</i> H. 196; <i>F-Pa</i> 135; <i>F-Pa</i> 3517-3518; <i>D-BAs</i> Lit. 115; <i>F-Pn</i> n. a. f. 13521; <i>E-BUIh</i> ; <i>Ob</i> Lyell 72; <i>F-Pn</i> lat. 11266
<i>Nobili precinitur</i> <i>Flos de virga</i> <i>T.Proles Marie</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 5958	<i>F-MO</i> H. 196, f. 104'
<i>O crux ave spes unica</i>	<i>Cjec</i> QB. 1 <i>W₁</i> , f. 103'	<i>F</i> , f. 346; <i>Ma</i> , f. 97
<i>Pater noster qui</i>	<i>Llp</i> 752 <i>W₁</i> , f. 113'	<i>F</i> , f. 125; <i>W₂</i> , f. 112; <i>Ma</i> , f. 116; <i>D-F Fragm. lat. VI</i> 41, f. D
<i>Premii dilatio</i>	<i>Cjec</i> QB. 1; <i>W₁</i> , f. 67'; <i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 510 (text)	<i>F</i> , f. 206'
<i>Procruens odium</i>	<i>Cjec</i> QB. 1	<i>F</i> , f. 226; <i>Ma</i> , f. 124; <i>D-Mbs</i> lat. 5539; <i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660
<i>Psallat chorus</i> <i>Eximie pater</i> <i>Tenor. Aptatur</i>	<i>Lwa</i> 33327	<i>F-MO</i> H. 196, f. 98'
<i>Quid tu vides, Jeremia</i>	<i>Harley</i> 5393; <i>W₁</i> , f. 72; <i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 510 (text)	<i>F</i> , f. 234'; <i>W₂</i> , f. 42
<i>Quis tibi Christe</i>	<i>Occ</i> 497	<i>W₂</i> , f. 40'
<i>Si mundus viveret</i>	<i>Cjec</i> QB. 1 <i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 510 (text)	<i>F</i> , f. 226; <i>Ma</i> , f. 127
<i>Super te jerusalem</i> <i>Sed fulsit</i> <i>Primus tenor [Dominus]</i> <i>Secundus tenor</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Frag. XX	<i>F-MO</i> H. 196, f. 105'
<i>Veri floris sub figura</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 524; <i>W₁</i> , f. 11'; <i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 510 (text)	<i>F</i> , f. 229; <i>W₂</i> , f. 39'; <i>Ma</i> , f. 129'; <i>D-Sl</i> HB. I Asc. 95, f. 29'; <i>CH-SG</i> 383 p. 175; <i>E-TO</i> C. 97, 81'; <i>F-CHR</i> 190, f. 158'; <i>F-Pn</i> lat. 4880, f. 84'; <i>Hortus deliciarum</i> .
<i>Virga Jesse</i>	<i>Ob</i> Wood 591	<i>F</i> , f. 314'; <i>W₁</i> , f. 157
<i>Virgo decus castitatis</i> <i>Virgo decus castitatis</i> <i>Alleluia</i>	<i>Cic</i> 0. 2. 1.	<i>F-MO</i> H. 196, f. 96

It has been argued that some of the compositions from the lost Reading list are represented in the "Worcester fragments"; these are given in Table 3.

Wibberley points out that of these attributions, *Quem non capit* cannot be that specified in the lost Reading index since it does not have two texts, and that as *Virgo sancta Katerine* already exists in two versions it cannot be certain that the index refers to the version in the "Worcester fragments."⁶¹ If the list styles incipits consistently, and refers to the *triplum*, then it is unlikely that the *Virgo sancta Katerine* referred to is the same as that in the "Worcester fragments," as this is the *motetus* text incipit; there is a similar problem with *[Dulciflua tua memoria]-Precipue michi*, *[Te domine laudat]-Te dominum clamat* and *[Virginis Marie]-Salve gemma virginum*. There is in fact some demonstration that compositions were designated by listing from top voice down - or indeed by top voice only. This is self-evident from some of the *Pes* or tenor designations in Worcester compositions, not only from such works as *Prolis eterne genitor-Psallat mater gratie-Pes super Prolis-Psallat*, *Pro beati Pauli-O pastor patris-O preclara patris-Pes de pro beati Pauli et de O pastor patris et de O preclara patrie* and *Puellare gremium-Purissima mater-Pes super puellare et purissima* but from some of the Reading index suspects themselves: *Dulciflua tua memoria-Precipua michi da gaudia-Tenor de Dulciflua*; *Te domine laudat-Te dominum clamat-Pes de te domine et de te dominum* and *Virginis Marie-Salve gemma virginum-Pes super virginis Marie et salve gemma*. For the Alleluya settings, only the chant incipits are given, and it requires some faith to assume that these necessarily refer to the settings with tropic upper voices which are found in the Worcester repertory. The two remaining concordances: *Super te Jerusalem*, which could as easily relate to a setting of that chant and *Salve gemma confessorum* would provide the only evidence of links between Reading and Worcester, which now appear slim - and if not non-existent, then no less tenuous than between Worcester and London (compare for instance the concordances with *Lwa 33327*).

61. Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 6-7.

Table 3: Supposed concordances between the lost Reading list and the Worcester Fragments

<i>[...recolet ecclesie]-Virgo Sancta Katerina</i>	<i>Ob</i> Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 18' (WOR 1, 33)	7.26
<i>[Dulciflua tua memoria]-Precipue michi</i>	<i>Ob</i> Lat. liturg. d. 20, f.23 (WOR 2, 1)	5.3
<i>[Te domine laudat]-Te dominum clamat</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XIII (WOR 1?)	7.45
<i>[Virginis Marie]-Salve gemma virginum</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XIII (WOR 1?)	5.12
<i>Alleluya V. Dulce lignum</i> <i>[Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica]</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (WOR 1, 20) <i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (WOR 2, 16)	2.12
<i>Alleluya V. Gaude virgo</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (WOR 2, 5)	2.32
<i>Alleluya V. Judicabunt</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment IX (WOR 2, 10)	2.24
<i>Quem non capit</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Add. 25031 (WOR 1, 7)	5.1
<i>Salve gemma confessorum</i>	<i>Ob</i> Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 22 (WOR 1?)	7.29
<i>Super te ierusalem</i>	<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Fragment XX, 3	5.2

The repertory transmitted by the "Worcester fragments" does not, then, constitute a "school" of "Westcuntre" composition but, if the evidence of the sources is to be believed, must have been drawn from a larger geographical area (not forgetting the embedded Notre-Dame *clausula* "ex semine" in *Alleluya V. Nativitas!*). In contrast, the Reading rolls transmit the only surviving examples of *rondellus* troped Alleluya settings. It is Reading, and not Worcester, which provides some evidence of a genuinely different compositional practice. Do other Reading volumes indicate this too?

The best-known Reading source is without doubt *Lbl* Harley 978. Since Schofield, there has been little doubt of its Reading provenance. Hohler, always vigilant against the misguided paleographical observations of musicologists, supported Schofield in everything he had said about this manuscript. But on closer examination of the source, some of what Schofield said has proved less than entirely accurate. On its provenance, Schofield writes that

the principal grounds on which the *rota* was regarded as a product of Reading Abbey is... the appearance in the volume of a Calendar which must certainly have been compiled for that house... not only do the first page of the Calendar and the last page of the music occur on the same leaf, but the music is actually on the recto, the Calendar on the verso of the leaf! Surely then the music must have been written before the Calendar, and been at Reading when the latter was compiled.⁶²

In fact this statement is misleading. The music on folios one to fifteen of *Lbl* Harley 978 is entered over two gatherings. All but the last song, *Gaude salutata virgo fecundata* are in the same hands; *Gaude salutata* uses existing staves, but neither the text nor music hand is the same as the earlier songs. Indeed, the music hand shows a very pronounced

62. Bertram Schofield, "The Provenance and Date," 81-86.

tendency towards long-tailed *virgae*, which are added as a separate stroke; perhaps it was this scribe who was responsible for adding the *caudae* to the *puncta* of the Sumer canon. Another gathering begins on folio fourteen. This second gathering opens with a short section on solmization, with mnemonic tunes: neither the text nor music scribes are the same as the principal or subsidiary hands of the first gathering, and the ruling is to a different module - in the first gathering the written area measures 160mm (exceptionally for one composition 175mm) by 101-105mm, in the second, 143-152mm by 80-85mm. The written area of the second gathering fits comfortably to the eye within the page, whereas the first shows signs of having had its upper margin trimmed away almost to nothing. The resemblance between the first and second gatherings is superficial. It is in this second section that the Kalendar occurs. There is no case to be made for suggesting that the first gathering is a Reading manuscript purely on the basis of the Kalendar, since paleographically they occur on unrelated sections - although this does not conclusively mean that the first gathering could not have come from Reading. Similarly, as we are not in a position to say when the gatherings were bound together, the Kalendar cannot be used to provide a *terminus ante quem* for the first gathering. It is true that the minor initials in both the first gathering and other parts of the volume are similar, but they are only flourished after folio 14. There is no doubt that the music came to be at Reading, but it is going some way further to say that it was written there, and even further to contend that it was written by W. de Wicumbe.

In addition to *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* + *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 - and possibly *Lbl* Harley 978 - there are two other volumes of polyphony which survive from Reading: *Ob* Bodley 257 and *Owc* 213*. *Owc* 213* consists of two flyleaves, and as described in *RISM BIV*₁, the parent volume was a miscellany containing prayers, meditations etc., and a chronicle which ends at the year 1264; there is also an index, in the same hand as the chronicle, which goes up to the year 1281. The parent volume was a Reading manuscript.⁶³ Apart

63. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 158.

from *Ave tuos benedic*, the two flyleaves, which are coeval, contain three insular *conducti*. *Ave tuos benedic* occurs among the last twenty-five pieces of *F*'s seventh fascicle. As Robert Falck has shown, this end section contains either *unica* or else very sparsely disseminated pieces, ending with five blank folios which indicate an "open-ended" collection.⁶⁴ Actually Falck does not list the concordance in *Owc* 213* either in the concordance charts or the catalogue. Sanders suggests that the continental version of *Ave tuos* may be an adaptation of a lost English original, of which the Oxford version would represent a later adaptation.⁶⁵ There is little doubt that one or both of these two versions relied at one time on transmission through oral means or through memory. It would be difficult to make a case for the musical priority of either version.

Rondellus technique is virtually a stamp of English composition. Considering the group of Alleluyas from Reading are remarkable in that they make such uniquely extensive use of the technique, it is surprising that only one of the *conducti* from *Owc* 213* and the other Reading *conductus* source *Ob* Bodley 257 contains a *rondellus*. If we look at sources of the English *conductus* - and by this I do not include those "pastiche" *conducti* which seem to have been written in deliberate imitation of the Notre-Dame style such as those in the main corpus of *W_I* - these are:

<i>WOc</i> Add. 68, Frag. XX	<i>DRu</i> Bamburgh Sel. 13
Worcester Reconstruction 1	<i>Ob</i> Bodley 257
Worcester Reconstruction 2	<i>Ob</i> Wood 591
<i>US-Cu</i> 654 App.	<i>Occ</i> 497
<i>US-PRu</i> Garrett 119	<i>Owc</i> 213*
<i>Cgc</i> 820/810	

Conducti containing *rondellus* technique are present in most of these sources: they are only absent from *Cgc* 820/810 and *Occ* 497, though *Occ* 497 does have a *rondellus* in

64. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 68.

65. Sanders, *English Music*, 240; briefly discussed by Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 393.

the form of *Kyrie rex Marie*. These Reading volumes indicate how difficult it is to generalise about what the presence of *rondellus* says about the geographical placement of a source, since they atypically contain *rondelli* in Alleluya settings - and equally atypically, do not as a rule seem to contain *rondelli* in *conducti*!

Anonymous IV would have no reason to mention a distinct "Westcuntre" practice if this did not, at least in his mind, exist. We cannot know exactly what, to him, constituted the "Westcuntre," and it would be simplistic to suppose that a broad geographical distinction between the east and south-east on the one hand, and the west and north on the other, could be negated by the presence of the odd composition with a continental concordance in a "Westcuntre" manuscript or the presence of pieces in the genuinely insular style in manuscripts from East Anglia and London. A sumptuous source like *Ob* Wood 591, which contains the highest products of both traditions, may perhaps best be understood not in a context of musical tradition or geographical placement but of bibliophilism, in the sense of capturing of prestige, rather than of music to perform, through the pages of a manuscript. When compared with *Llp* 752, it suggests a somewhat different type of context for itself. The division of the two repertories between front and back flyleaves and between two and three parts - in other words, the lack of evidence that these two sets of leaves were ever from the same fascicle - suggests a collection whose repertories could be classified by type and which had now achieved the status of a classic. This, and lack of evidence that the leaves were used as binding fragments prior to the Dissolution hints that the volume's status did not evaporate quickly, as for *Llp* 752 or even to a lesser extent *Cjec* QB. 1.

We must close this chapter with a note of caution. As with any discussion of sources which do not represent the first copies of compositions, we must acknowledge first and foremost that the questions illumined by the survival of material from a location are those of reception or cultivation, not (necessarily) genesis: and at best, discussion of the interaction between style or genre and location are relevant only to such questions of

cultivation, not of genesis. To broach issues of chance geographical survival in the hope that this will elucidate the subgeneric origins of either freely-composed or chant-based polyphony would be misguided, although this is not to say that what is shown up by geographical survival - what came to be preserved where - is not as important to a repertory in terms of its position as a historical phenomenon. It is oversimplistic to imagine that the cultivation of different stylistic types in different areas of Britain indicates any more than would be obvious from general consideration of political or even mercantile movement between the continent and Britain.

§IV: FASHION

§IV.i: Dating and Style

The currency of the Notre-Dame *conductus* must have spanned at least a century. The earliest clutch of polyphonic topical pieces date from the 1180s: *Ver pacis aperit* [J32] (for the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1179), *Eclypsim patitur* [I7] (for the death of Geoffrey of Brittany in 1186), *Redit etas aurea* [I8] (for the coronation of Richard I in 1189) and *In occasu syderis* [I11] (for the death of Henry II in 1189); Anonymous IV, writing in about 1280,¹ notes that

Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus
magistri Roberti de Sabilone et [sic] in coro Beatae Virginis
maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in
hodiernum diem.²

The book or books of Master Perotin were in use up to the time
of Master Robertus de Sabilone, and in the choir of the Parisian
cathedral church of the Blessed Virgin, and from his time up to
today.³

It is possible that in Britain, Notre-Dame books were in use as late as 1295,⁴ and in
theory, then, *Llp* 752, *Ob* Wood 591 and *Cjec* QB. 1 could date from anything up till

1. See Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory," 233-238.

2. Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, 46:18.

3. Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory," 172.

4. See Ker, "Books at St. Paul's," 233; Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony," 8; Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners," 381-2.

then. The style of the handwriting and flourished initials may be examined for a more exact dating, although in practice this too is fraught with all the difficulties associated with assessing phenomena as they occur in disparate locations.

We may begin by discussing as an example the flourished initials of *Llp* 752. These include components which are found in a number of both insular and French manuscripts of the thirteenth century: in the terminology of Sonia Patterson, "Hairpin double above and below," "Principal combination," the infilling component "Caterpillar and bud" which is sometimes found in its scalloped form, and sometimes in a smoother form, and an outer component which is a cross between "Bulb multiple" and "Extended fan"⁵ (see Figure 4).

Patterson dates these components variously as "early," "transitional" and "late"; all four occur in *Ob* Bodley 198, an English manuscript written before 1253,⁶ but this is not evidence to be used to date or place *Llp* 752 as both manuscripts contain components not found in the other; *Llp* 752 also contains characteristics not discussed by Patterson. Of course Patterson's research was concerned mainly with Paris and Oxford manuscripts. The flourishing vocabulary used in provincial religious houses remains largely uncharted territory. This is nowhere more apparent than when attempting to use Patterson's vocabulary to try and describe the flourished initial for the fragment now at Canterbury Cathedral, MS Add. 128/8, for example, which contains different floral motifs simply not covered by her research (see Figure 5). Over-zealousness in applying this research willy-nilly to manuscripts from all over Britain would constitute a *very* dubious methodological approach. Even if the flourishing does not really help to date and place this source, Professor A. C. de la Mare has suggested that the script is English,

5. Sonia Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts." "Extended Fan" is discussed in 2:44-46; "Hairpin double above and below" in 2:60-62; "Principal combination" in 2:63-64; "Caterpillar and bud" in 2:102. "Hairpin double..." and "Principal combination" are listed as "early," (1:34-53); "Extended Fan" and "Bulb Multiple" are "transitional" (1:54-78), and "Caterpillar and Bud" are "late" (1:79-101).

6. Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts," 1:26.

of the first half of the thirteenth century;⁷ coupled with this, the flyleaf was part of the original binding, which cannot be later than the third quarter of the thirteenth century: bevelled beech or oak boards,⁸ now worm-eaten, covered in a white whittawed skin which is pasted to the boards by the turn-in method. The squares, or covering boards, do not project beyond the edges of the pages, a feature which Graham Pollard has identified as belonging to manuscripts before 1450,⁹ and the three thongs are fixed to the boards in a pattern which indicates a date in the late thirteenth-century: entering by a groove on the outside of the bevelled boards, and banded across the spine. There was once a single clasp but this has now gone. In view of this, it would not be too incautious to date the leaf from about the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

The implications of this dating are puzzling, however, in that the Notre-Dame polyphony on the flyleaf would not by any means have been out-of-date when the leaf was scrapped for binding material - it must be remembered that the bindings of both *Cjec* QB. 1 and *Ob* Wood 591 were put on over two and three centuries later, respectively, than the copying of the music on the flyleaves. None of the *conducti* are topical and thus cannot provide a *terminus ante quem* - although in any case the latest topical pieces are earlier than the 1230s, before which no surviving Notre-Dame sources are known to have been copied.¹⁰ Of the three *conducti*, *Austro terris* at least was still going strong possibly as long as a century after its text was copied into *CH-Zs* C58/275, supposedly a late twelfth-century manuscript;¹¹ there was a book of Notre-Dame polyphony at St. Paul's Cathedral, now lost, in which its presence was recorded in

7. Private communication, 17th May 1990.

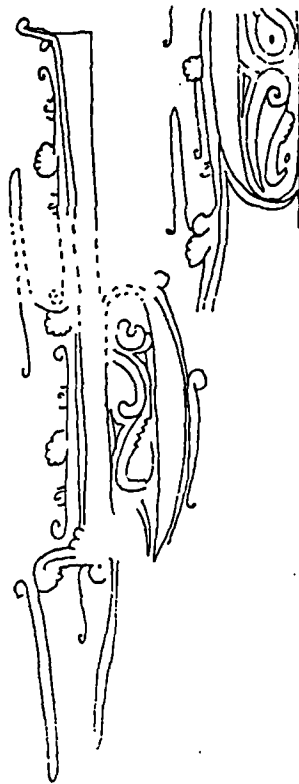
8. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 801.

9. Graham Pollard, "Describing Medieval Bookbindings," *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 61.

10. *Hortus deliciarum*, which contained Notre Dame *conducti* may have dated from the 1180s; see §VI.i.

11. Jacques Handschin, "Conductus-Spicilegien," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1952) 111.

Figure 4: Flourishing components, *Llp* 752



"Caterpillar and bud"/"Ear"



"Principal combination"

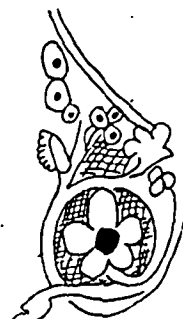


"Hairpin double, above and below"



"Bulb multiple"/"Extended fan"

Figure 5: Part of flourished initial, *CAC* Add. 128/8



1295,¹² and it was one of the *conducti* which found its way into the late thirteenth-century source *D-HEu* 2588. It is also cited as a musical example in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth-century treatise on plainchant copied by John Wylde - where it is significantly, perhaps, used as an example to show how the interval of a third can sound consonant when sung, though not when played on an organ.¹³ Possibly, the volume from which this flyleaf came was dismembered by an institution which was keen to keep very much up-to-date in its polyphony - after all as much a symbol of prestige as anything else - and simply scrapped the book on acquiring a volume of the same type as perhaps the Ely codex *Ctc* 0. 2. 1., which contains later-thirteenth-century insular Marian monotextual motets and continental motets with concordances in *F-MO* H. 196 and *F*. The possibility of a much more mundane reason, such as fire or water damage, for the manuscript to have been scrapped should not be overlooked, however, and this explanation is in many respects preferable to one which degrades the status of Notre-Dame polyphony to one of immediate ephemera.

If the flyleaves of *Ob* Wood 591 and *Cjec* QB. 1 *do* represent first-generation binding usage, then this implies more distinguished careers for the manuscripts from which they came than for the *Llp* 752 flyleaf. As with *Llp* 752, the flourishing components cannot safely be used to date or place the leaves, but the style of the script is in keeping with a mid-century date. It has been argued that *Cjec* QB. 1 is from St. Edmund's Abbey, Bury, and we have evidence of musical traditions other than Notre-Dame at that institution which appear to have been cultivated contemporaneously with the Notre-Dame tradition: the flyleaves of *Csj* 138 (F. 1), which contains a *Benedicamus Domino* tenor, a motet which promises to be bilingual (French and Latin) but whose *triplum* was never

12. Ker, "Books at St. Paul's," 233; Wathey, "Lost Books of Polyphony," 8; Baltzer, "Notre Dame Manuscripts and Their Owners," 381-2.

13. Reaney, "John Wylde and the Notre Dame Conductus," *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16 Dezember 1968*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich: Fink, 1970) 269; for an edition of Wylde's treatise, see Cecily Sweeney, *Johannis Wylde: Musica manualis cum tonale. Corpus scriptorum de musica* 28 (n. p.: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler Verlag, Neuhausen a/F, 1982).

entered, and two other Latin motets, some of which are in columns and some in score. The parent volume is young: the main contents are a thirteenth-century copy of William Peraldus, *Summa de vitiis*, with a Bury pressmark. The codex still retains its original binding. The front pastedown and folio (iii) a bifolium from a sheet of late thirteenth-century account rolls, "probably the cellarer's... containing payments to the 'carectarius' [carter] and 'frumentarius' [corn merchant] for the purchase and grinding of corn."¹⁴ One of the motets, *Miles Christi gloriose Symon-Plorate cives Anglie* is a lament for Simon de Montfort, who died in 1265, which means, as Peter Lefferts has already pointed out, that *Csj* 138 (F. 1). cannot have had a life of much beyond twenty-five years.¹⁵ The currency of the Notre-Dame *conducti* from *Cjec* QB. 1 may not only have overlapped with the motets, but actually have subsumed them, which damages the anyway facile view that *conducti* became out-of-date when the motet rose to prominence. These circumstances compare closely with those concerning *Llp* 752: a repertory which according to our current understanding of chronology, should not so soon have become out-of-date, but whose means of transmission, i.e. the written book, has already been scrapped. This is one example of how an understanding of chronology which took continental practice as a point of departure would be dangerously misleading.

The four *conducti* from *Ob* Wood 591 which do not have concordances in continental manuscripts belong to a stylistic tradition which could be described as "high insular." These pieces may have *caudae* which are to all extents and purposes indistinguishable from Notre-Dame *caudae*, and/or *caudae* which contain *rondelli*. "High insular" pieces contain two characteristics setting them apart: (a) use of *rondellus* technique in *cum littera* sections as well as *caudae*, and/or (b) the tendency in *cum littera* sections for the voices to move along in ⁵₃ triadic blocks, cadencing onto open fifths/octaves. All four of

14. Thomson, *Archives of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, 116-117.

15. Lefferts, "Two English Motets on Simon de Montfort," *Early Music History* 1 (1981) 203-225.

the *Ob* Wood 591 pieces evince the second characteristic, although only *Salve mater misericordie* and *O laudanda virginitas* contain *rondelli*. This high style is evident in many *conducti* from insular manuscripts, and is supposed to have developed in England somewhat later than the age of the Notre-Dame *conductus*, although perhaps overlapping with it, while the motet was springing up in France. The presence of *rondellus* has up till now been an unspoken pointer to insular provenance, although there has been no systematic search for *rondellus* technique in the continental repertoires. Now that the publication of Gordon Anderson's edition of Notre-Dame and related *conductus* is complete, we are in a position to examine this repertory for *rondellus* - and indeed other techniques - much more easily. Anderson's transcriptions have by no means received universal acclaim;¹⁶ the most questionable aspect is his interpretation of the poetic metres of the texts in order to apply modal rhythms to the music in *cum littera* sections. However, this does not affect or hide the presence of *rondellus*. *Rondellus* can be seen as a development or sub-species of voice-exchange technique; but whereas voice-exchange is an activity for two voices, albeit one which sometimes takes place over a *pes*, *rondellus* is not viable without at least three voices, and is associated exclusively with the three-part repertory. The technique inevitably results in textural and small-scale formal characteristics - in particular the articulation of harmonic change - which immediately sets passages of *rondellus* apart from passages using voice-exchange over a *pes*. *Rondellus* is present in many, though not all insular *conducti*. In contrast, in the whole of the Notre-Dame repertory, including related *unica* from the Notre-Dame manuscripts and non-Parisian compositions in related style, there is not a single *rondellus* to be found. There are numerous sections which are structured with imitative passages: see most particularly *Adesse festina* [A9] and *Vide prophetie* [A12], but these are more in the form of antecedent-consequent phrases than the triple-

16. Tischler devoted a whole article to criticism of Anderson's edition a little ungraciously, perhaps, in the Anderson memorial volume. See Hans Tischler, "Gordon Athol Anderson's Conductus Edition and the Rhythm of Conductus," *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa and Binningen: Institute of Medieval Music, 1984) 561-573.

moving *rondellus*; in any case, *rondelli* are always "imitative," but imitation does not of course necessarily constitute *rondellus*.

Rondellus is, then, a technique found only in insular pieces, and there is every evidence that it was an insular stylistic development which did not interest continental composers. For what reason did these high insular pieces fail to find their way into the Notre-Dame manuscripts? *Rondellus* and chains of triads are companion traits: the interval of a third was unarguably not a consonance, and while one vertical third was tolerable, two superimposed - a major and a minor - must have been too "dissonant" for continental taste.¹⁷ Notre-Dame *conducti* did not cease to be copied until long after these insular pieces must have been written, and that they do not appear in continental codices is unlikely to have been because there was not enough contact to enable their transmission across the Channel, but because they were not liked. *Rondellus* is not entirely explicable as a development of voice-exchange technique. It is also a manifestation of the perfect number, three. Three voices sing a phrase three times. Sometimes three voices sing the phrase twice three times. *Kyrie rex Marie* is one giant *rondellus*,¹⁸ the text guiding three times threefold repetition - indeed, using *rondellus* for Kyrie settings seems so obvious that the only surprise is that only one survives. It is virtually unheard of for a *rondellus* segment not to be stated in a multiple of three. There are twenty-one extant pieces from the thirteenth-century repertory (not including Walter Odington's musical example) the size of whose *rondellus* sections is determinable. These are listed together with their patterning in Table 4.

17. But see Norman E. Smith, "An Early Thirteenth-Century Motet," *Models of Music Analysis: Music Before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992) 20-40, especially 34. Vertical sonorites have yet to be systematically explored in this repertory.

18. See Sanders, *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, 31-32; note that this corrects Caldwell's assertion that "*rondellus* was never adopted for an entire piece" (*From the Beginnings*, 47).

Table 4: *Rondellus* repetitions

<u>Composition</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Genre</u>	<u>No. of repetitions</u>
<i>Alleluia Adoremus</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 400*	troped Alleluia setting	3x6
<i>Alleluia Christo</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 400*	troped Alleluia setting	3x10
<i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 400*	troped Alleluia setting	3x12
<i>Ave sanctiati</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawl. C. 400*	troped Alleluia setting	3x6
<i>Ave virgo mater</i>	WOR 1, 26	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x8; 3x7; 3x9; 3x7; 3x7
<i>Christi cara mater</i>	US-Cu 654 App.	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x9; 3x7+coda; 3x8; 3x8
<i>De supernis sedibus</i>	WOR 1, 5	<i>conductus</i>	3x8; 6+1'x5; 3x(4x2)
<i>Flos regalis</i>	Occ 489	<i>conductus</i>	2x(3x8); 2x(3x8); 2x(3x8)
<i>Fulget celestis</i>	WOR 1, 32/Onc 362	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x11; 3x13
<i>Gaudeat ecclesia</i>	WOc Frag. XX	<i>rondellus</i>	3x9; 3x7; 3x8; 3x9
<i>In excelsis gloria</i>	WOc Frag. XX/US-Cu 654 App.	<i>conductus</i>	3x6; 3x8; 3x6; 3x6
<i>Integra inviolata</i>	Occ 489	<i>conductus</i>	6x4; 3x18
<i>Kyrie rex marie</i>	Occ 497	troped Kyrie setting	3x(7+8); 3x16; 3x(7+8)
<i>O laudanda</i>	<i>Ob</i> Wood 591	<i>conductus</i>	3x5; 3x4; 3x8
<i>O venie vena</i>	WOR 1, 13	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x6; 3x6
<i>Orbis pium</i>	US-Cu 654 App.	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x12; 3x9
<i>Quem trina polluit</i>	WOR 2, 29/DRu Sel. 13	<i>conductus</i>	3x8; 3x6; 3x6; 3x8
<i>Salve mater misericordie</i>	Occ 489/ <i>Ob</i> Wood 591	<i>conductus</i>	6x6; 3x10; 3x8; 2x6; 7x4
<i>Stella maris nuncuparis</i>	US-Cu 654 App.	<i>rondellus</i> -motet	3x7; 3x6; 3x4; 3x4; 3x10

It can be seen from this table that the notable exception to the rule of three occurs in *Salve mater misericordie*, one of the two *conducti* from *Ob* Wood 591 which contain *rondelli*. This piece can be divided into five main sections: (a) a homorhythmic texted section; (b) a *rondellus cauda*; (c) a *rondellus cum littera* section; (d) a homorhythmic, *rondellus cum littera* section; (e) a *rondellus cauda*. In (b), the first *rondellus cauda*, the voices sing a phrase twice three times, as is usual. In (d), the second *rondellus cum littera* section, only the music is a *rondellus*: there are two phrases of text, and thus the *rondellus* segment only occurs twice. In (e), the *rondellus-cauda*, a short segment of *rondellus* occupying only two double perfections is repeated no less than seven times (see Example 4).

Example 4: *Salve mater misericordie* (Ob Wood 591 and Occ 489)

(a)

Sal-ve ma-ter mi-se-ri cor-di-e

Stel-la ma-ris de-us ex-de-ni-e Por-ta ri-a ce-

les-tis cu-ri-e Mun-di sa-lus et da-trix ve-

(b)^{1.}

ni-e

3. 4. 5.

(6) (C)

Que por-tas — ti re-gem iu-shi-ci-

8-c

Que por-tas — ti re-gem iu-shi-ci- e

que por-tas — ti

Mi-ro no-do non nos-tra se-ri-e.

Mi-ro

re-gem iu-shi-ci- e

mo-do non nostra se-ri-e

Mi-ro mo-do non nostra se-

ri-e

Mi-se-re re in-jus fa-

mi-li-e et a ma-his ser-ra nos ho-di-e

2. 3. 4. 5.



Example 5: *O laudanda virginitas* (text; Ob Wood 591)

*O laudanda virginitas
etas sexus conditio
dum Katherine castitas
decertat in martyrio
arridet rosa lilio
dum virgo cadit gladio
delusa stupet feritas
manante lactis fluvio.
In Syna patet veritas
Olei testimonio
O felix depositio
passa regalis dignitas
iam regnat a supplicio.*

O praiseworthy virginity,
youth, and status of womanhood,
as Catherine's chastity strives
valiantly in martyrdom
the rose smiles at the lily while
the virgin is felled by the sword;
deluded savagery is confounded
at the flowing stream of milk
In Sinai truth is revealed and
the oil is the proof; O blessed
burial, o royal dignity, having
gone through suffering. But now,
having been tortured, she reigns.

(Text and translation taken from Frank Ll. Harrison, *Motets of English Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century XV (Monaco: Éditions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1980), 291.

Example 6: *O laudanda virginitas* (Ob Wood 591)

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music is written in a 19th-century style with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The lyrics are written below the bottom staff.

i- tax sex-us con-di-ti-o Dum ka-er-i-ne cas-ti-tas de-ces-tat

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves, continuing the melody and accompaniment from the first system. The lyrics are written below the bottom staff.

in mar-ti-ri-o Ar-ri-det re-sa li-li-o dum vir-go ex-dit gla-di-o

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves, concluding the piece. The music ends with a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the bottom staff.

de-lu-sa stu-pet fer-i-tas ma-nan-ta lac-ris flu-vi-o.

This is quite exceptional, however. Drive and tension is created in these *conducti* not only by patterns of declamation but by the rhythm of the phrases, which are irregular both in length and in unit. *O laudanda virginitas* is constructed on a broad scale by alternation of *caudae* and *cum littera* sections. As can be seen from Example 5, the poem has thirteen lines each of eight syllables, with the rhyme pattern -as, -o, -as, -o, | -o, -o, -as, -o, | -as, -o, -o, -as, -o. This poetic regularity serves as fuel for subversion by the composer.¹⁹ The first *cauda* lasts for twenty nine perfections, divided into three units of three, four units of four and two units of two. This is followed by a declamatory *cum littera* section lasting thirty-six perfections: the first poetic phrase is declaimed in longs, but the following, according to how the notation is interpreted (see §IV,ii), could be in up-beat second-mode rhythm, creating an uneven pattern. The *cauda* which follows begins with a unit of six perfections (twice three), followed by a unit of ten perfections (twice five), followed by a unit of sixteen perfections (twice eight). These progressively lengthening phrases are followed up with a texted *rondellus* section. The length of each phrase is determined by how the notation is transcribed, and this is one of the most problematic corners of the composition - as is evinced by the widely differing transcriptions of this work available.²⁰ All transcriptions combine upbeat second-mode with first-mode, and it does seem that the odd phrase-lengths are instrumental in producing the drive and tension which culminates in the final, declamatory phrase. In this case, the text-line *In Syna patet regia* will produce a phrase lasting five perfections, occurring three times, the last *longa* overlapping with the first of the next statement; the third statement thus lasts an extra perfection. *Olei testimonio* is also set in *rondellus* and produces a four-perfection phrase stated three times, evenly. The lines *O felix depositio / passa regalis dignitas* are set to a single, eight-perfection phrase stated three times, and this texted section ends with a homorhythmic segment declaimed in *longae*, matching

19. Olga Malyshko also discusses the relationship between music and text in this *conductus* in "The English Conductus Repertory," 349-352, and on 297ff provides an alternative transcription to both Sanders's in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, 32 and that in the present study, Example 6.

20. *Ibidem*, plus Anderson, *Opera Omnia*, 9:41ff.

the setting of the first poetic line. The ending *cauda* is quite different from the middle *cauda*: here the phrases of each voice overlap, rather than creating clear-cut units, producing a seamless flow of music lasting forty *longæ*. In Example 6, text lines 2 to 8 have been transcribed in regular upbeat second-mode experimentally and not without reservation.

Perhaps the triadic movement of *cum littera* sections in high insular *conducti* express the number three as well. The interval of a fifth is expressed by the ratio three over two, and the intervals which go to make up the perfect fifth are twice a third.

Llp 752, *Ob* Wood 591 and *Cjec* QB. 1 combine Notre-Dame *conducti* with "primitive" polyphony, *conducti* in pastiche Notre-Dame style and *conducti* in high insular style. This may either testify to a remarkably long currency for the Parisian style(s) combined with "progressive development" of insular music, or to a remarkably wide variety of generic and stylistic types supported by England during a limited time-span within the thirteenth century. Even if the age of the sources may suggest so, it is unlikely to reflect a "progressive development" of style in England, beginning with primitive polyphony, going on to pastiche Notre-Dame and culminating in a high insular style, and a middle view of wide Notre-Dame currency combined with wide insular variety is most likely here.

§IV,ii: Notation

The topic of notation has been excluded from the foregoing discussion of dating and style. This is because the links between musical notation and chronology which have so far been asserted for music in England have often been made with the idea of a central line of development in mind. The backbone of this has been the "Worcester fragments"; Sanders bands the fragments using genre and notational style, a methodological approach which at best only holds good for a body of material which emerged from one

establishment over a period of time,²¹ not an anthological collection which seems to have been drawn from a wider geographical area. Despite Hohler's note of caution concerning the provenance of some or all of the fragments,²² scholars have been reluctant to relinquish the idea of a large placeable corpus of music from which a chronology can be extracted using notational paleography as a foundation.²³ Roger Wibberley's bold claims about the graphic and rhythmic practices evident in the "Worcester fragments" represent a considerable departure from conventional views - he considers that the different notational systems represented in this group of sources do not indicate sequential copying - but the evidence on which any of his claims rest are not unchallengeable.²⁴ The one terminal date by which we now know a source to have been copied - *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 - has only recently been established (this is discussed below), and former studies have not been advantaged by this fact. As a result, they could not reach beyond the stage of guesswork.

Llp 752, *Ob* Wood 591 and *Cjec* QB. 1 indicate connections between notational and stylistic types rather than with chronological development. The Notre-Dame *conducti* in *Llp* 752 are not transmitted in significantly different form from other sources transmitting these pieces, although there is an occurrence of the "English *conjunctura*" in *Hec est rosa* as well as in *Cristus natus*. There are also examples of the rhomb in one of the insular pieces. These are the two features whose occurrence before the establishment of English mensural notation has been notoriously difficult to quantify. The "English *conjunctura*" is not exclusive to insular manuscripts. Although

21. Sanders, in "Worcester Polyphony," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20:524-528, does caution that "there is no certainty regarding the original provenance of any of the leaves."

22. Hohler, "Reflections," 24-30.

23. See Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 182.

24. See Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 104-107, for a critique of the slant-head theory. Wibberley's contention that the various "Worcester fragments" were copied at the same time is challenged in the present study, §V,ii.

Anonymous IV refers to the figure as English,²⁵ there are numerous examples of it in continental sources, both theoretical and musical. These include the repertorially discrete second section of *Lbl Egerton 2615*, copied in Paris for Beauvais but transmitting Parisian works; *I-Ac 695*, from Rheims; *Lbl Egerton 274*, probably from Tournai; and *D-BAs Lit. 115*, which may have come from Paris or the Ile de France.²⁶ Anonymous IV was not alone among theorists to describe the figure, though only he called it an *elmuarifa* and described it as English; as Gordon Anderson has noted, Lambertus and the St. Emmeran Anonymous go so far as to give it a definite rhythm, which may occupy two or three *tempora*. Lambertus distinguishes nine *differentiæ* of ternary ligatures, the sixth and seventh of which are devoted to ternary *c. o. p.* ligatures; what we call the "English *conjunctura*" occurs in the seventh. Lambertus says

Due prime semibreuiabuntur; ultima profert unum tempus, si
brevis sequatur; si autem longa, tunc duo tempora donat.²⁷

The first two <notes> will be semibreves; the last carries one
tempus if a breve follows, but if a longa follows, it gains two
tempora.²⁸

It is apparent from this excerpt, however, that the later, pre-Franconian use of the figure was unconnected with insular use, which had been widespread independently of its

25. See Reckow, *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymous 4*, 45. 1; Yudkin translates this in "Notre Dame Theory," 169 as: "... there is a certain figure which is called *elmuahym* or something like it. And it always lies in a certain oblique manner, but denotes different things." Elsewhere, Anonymous IV says "The *elmuahym* is often drawn obliquely... also there is a certain *elmuarifa*, which can be called irregular, which has a line descending on the left side, as the English write it or notate it." (Reckow, *ibidem*, 41. 15; Yudkin, *ibidem*, 164).

26. See Everist, *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79-94v)*, (London: The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1988) 49-50.

27. Coussemaeker, *Scriptorum*, I:275.

28. Gordon Anderson, "The Notation of the Bamberg and Las Huelgas Manuscripts," *Musica disciplina* 32 (1978) 39.

occurrence on the continent and which clearly does not represent semibreves. It is impossible to tell to what extent it differs rhythmically from the ordinary ternary *conjunctura*, and whether its relationship with the ordinary *ternaria* can be successfully codified: we cannot know whether a transmission with altered notation suggests a change of rhythm or a different graphic symbol with the same meaning.

Similarly, the rhomb - later to be associated with the value *brevis* in England and *semibrevis* on the continent - seems to indicate varying degrees of rhythmic significance in earlier thirteenth-century insular sources. Roesner is undoubtedly right in suggesting that they may have been carried into a polyphonic setting from the original plainsong notation in instances where a plainchant tenor is involved, although in the polyphony they may not necessarily have the same significance as in the original chant.²⁹ Roesner also shows examples of paired rhombs used on single pitches to indicate long-short (2+1) rhythm.³⁰ A more recently-discovered source, *CA* Add. 128/8, also seems to employ single-pitch rhombs for long-short rhythm, though as Sandon suggests, it is possible that they are only decorative.³¹ Sandon's example is from *Alleluya Salve virgo* but the incipit of the troped Alleluya setting on the *verso*³² of this leaf, *Alleluya Ave rosa generosa* is even more extensive. Here, it would seem that the long tenor note accompanying the sequential, melismatic duplum breaks into (presumably vocalised) rhythmic interjections at the ends of each phrase (see Example 7).

29. Edward Roesner discusses the different usages of the rhomb within a broad paleographical tradition in "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadiensis: A Study of its Origins and of its Eleventh Fascicle" 2 vols (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1974) 279-303.

30. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 284-290.

31. Nicholas Sandon, "Fragments of Medieval Polyphony at Canterbury Cathedral," *Musica disciplina* 30 (1976) 37-53.

32. What I have called a "*recto*" is called "*verso*" in Sandon's foliation. At the suggestion of Peter Lefferts, Sandon's foliation has been reversed. Lefferts is clearly correct.

Example 7: *Alleluia Ave Rosa generosa* (excerpt; CAc Add. 128/8)

The musical score is presented in two systems, each with two staves. The top staff of each system is for the voice, and the bottom staff is for the lute. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 8/8. The first system shows a vocal line with a melodic phrase and a lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system continues the vocal line with a melodic phrase and the lute line with a rhythmic accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lute line is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The vocal line has a melodic phrase that starts on a whole note and is followed by a series of eighth notes. The lute line has a rhythmic accompaniment consisting of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. The second system continues the vocal line with a melodic phrase that starts on a whole note and is followed by a series of eighth notes. The lute line has a rhythmic accompaniment consisting of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. The vocal line ends with a long note and the lute line ends with a long note.

In other cases, rhombs seem to occur as part of what Roger Wibberley has argued is a sophisticated emerging tradition - that of English mensural notation³³ - and of course their presence and subsequent alteration in *Lbl* Harley 978 has provoked the most discussion in this regard (see §IV,iii).

It is questionable whether the paired rhombs in *W_I* are precursors of the paired-breve practice which is the main feature of English mensural notation. In *W_I* they occur in this way only as repeated notes on the same pitch, and we would need examples in *cum littera* notation to show with any degree of conclusiveness that English mensural notation was in operation so early. Although there is evidence of rhombs with mensural implication from Reading Abbey before 1256, this is possibly as much as twenty years later - and a great many miles further south - than St. Andrews's *W_I*. On the other hand, paired-breve *cum littera* notation is only one step away from Roesner's "*conjunctura* on a single note"³⁴. Even the existence of rhombs on single pitches as rhythmic determinants argues for a singular notational system, already in place by the time the "foreign" Notre-Dame repertory came to be copied in the British Isles, and which could be imposed on a non-insular repertory. In turn, this suggests that the Notre-Dame polyphony of *W_I* was not the first "high" polyphony to be copied in Britain. The assertion that the high insular style of the thirteenth century and the Notre-Dame style meet in the works of Perotin now scarcely needs repeating - all that would be left to suggest in this circular argument is that Perotin was in fact English. However, if we are looking for evidence that an indigenous high polyphonic practice existed and that it was not Notre-Dame polyphony, then the existence of an independent paleographical tradition which catered for this would certainly be *significant*.

33. Roger Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music." See also *ibidem*, "Notation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Manuscripts of Fourteenth Century English Polyphony. A Selection of Facsimiles*, ed. Frank L.L. Harrison and Roger Wibberley. Early English Church Music 26 (London: Stainer and Bell, for the British Academy, 1981) xix-xxviii.

34. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 284.

It is impossible to prove that the notational tradition of *W_I* owed something to a polyphonic practice indigenous to Britain. On its own, the argument for such a proposition could at best only be teleological. However, although rhomb-shaped *conjuncturae* occur widely in French polyphonic sources, it would be difficult to argue for lost French sources which contained single rhombs indicating rhythm, as such symbols are unlikely to have been discarded in favour of square *notae simplices* which did not indicate rhythm. Coupled with this, we only need to challenge the usual accordance of historical priority to the Notre-Dame school in the formulation of modal rhythm to question further whether the notation of *W_I* is a straightforward representation of Parisian practice. What is critical to this question is the stage at which ligature patterns came to represent rhythmic patterns. Ian Bent notes that

... as a conceptual system [modal rhythm] must have existed some time before [Léonin's] day; it is even doubtful whether [he] could have invented the notational system that came into existence in the 12th century to represent the six modes.³⁵

Other instances of rhomb usage in insular sources must owe simply to force of scribal habit, developed from plainsong notation. To read rhythmic meaning into these rhombs either makes nonsense of the music or necessitates the assumption of an impossibly complicated system. Genre and style to a large extent determine this. The simple *conducti*, sequences and *organa* usually do not differentiate between one graphic *nota simplex* and another. One particularly thorny example would be *Miro genere* from *Llp* 457, whose rhombs and their alignment (or rather misalignment) with *virgae* in the other voice, while at first seeming so promising, eventually defy attempts at a method of transcription which uses the possibility of rhombs as breves. Sanders's edition of this piece in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* adopts the

35. Ian Bent, "Rhythmic Modes," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 15:824-5.

isosyllabic method - as does virtually every transcription in this volume;³⁶ Gillingham rightly challenges this,³⁷ but even he does not take account of the "extra" rhomb in the first phrase as compared with the fourth phrase; Roesner too discusses the notation of this piece³⁸ though his conclusion and transcription are unconvincing unless one can accept that rhomb-usage within a single piece could change from being rhythmically significant to being decorative. Moreover, he does not offer a solution to the fourth phrase without the extra rhomb. The usage in this source does not really impinge on that in *Llp* 752, though, which does seem to represent an early, possibly one of the earliest examples of a pair of rhombs representing English altered breve notation. As the two pairs of rhombs occur simultaneously in each of the two voices to the word *hominem*, to a rising melodic figure, there is no question of graphic decoration; indeed there is no sense of their accidental occurrence through scribal habit. The *caudae* of *Barabas dimittitur* are patently to be read in modal rhythm, and the pair of breves in *Cristus natus* undoubtedly would not represent binary rhythm. There is no reason to suppose anything other than altered breve notation, and if the date of pre-mid century is correct for *Llp* 752, this brings it into line with the rhomb notation of *Lbl* Harley 978 before it was graphically - though not rhythmically - reformed.

36. Sanders justifies the isosyllabic method in "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985) 439-469: an article which reviews the heated arguments surrounding the application of modal rhythm to *cum littera* sections of *conducti*; see also "Sine littera and cum littera in Medieval Polyphony," *Music and Civilisation: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps, Maria Rika Maniates and Christopher Hatch (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1984) 2: 505-530. This is not the place for a detailed examination, since it is peripheral to the argument of rhythm in insular *conducti*, merely a brief overview of this vexatious subject. Anonymous IV does quite clearly state that "in the old books, they had notes which were too equivocal... but they were performed by understanding alone, saying: I understand that note to be long, I understand that note to be short." This does seem to indicate some sort of metrical rhythm, and supports the evidence of *caudæ* in modal rhythms which repeat previous *cum littera* sections (see especially Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," *Annales musicologiques* 1 (1953) 65-103). But a century had elapsed between the first *conducti* and the treatise of Anonymous IV, and it does seem that we need most of all to recognize the possibility that Anonymous IV did not altogether understand what had happened to the concepts of *ritmus* and *metrum* in poetry - and therefore monody? - during this time. Also, the conceptual possibilities of written polyphony must have gradually turned music into a more self-referential art than the old *musica*, which was more bound up with the words of the song: turned it more away from the natural flow of the text towards the artifice of the motet's rhythmic forms. There is simply not enough allowance for the changing forces of fashion throughout all the discussions of *conductus* and modal or isosyllabic rhythm.

37. Gillingham, "Lambeth Palace MS 457: A Reassessment," *Music and Letters* 68 (1987) 213-21.

38. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 299.

In the case of *Ob* Wood 591, Wibberley has argued that the rhombs in the insular pieces are rhythmically significant, even though the rhomb usage in this source is sporadic, and in some places there are cases of *virga-punctum-virga* against *virga-virga-virga*. It almost seems as if the scribe was copying from an *exemplar* which did differentiate between the two symbols but did not himself know the "*virga-punctum* = long-breve" tradition. Sanders transcribes the insular pieces isosyllabically except for the texted *rondellus* sections; Malyshko in effect does the same, suggesting that the notation represents longs on the evidence of strong/weak beat dissonance.³⁹ Wibberley, who contends that *Ob* Wood 591 is "a late source" despite the Notre-Dame pieces, instead allows the symbols to speak the rhythms they represent.⁴⁰ His reasoning is based on the fact that *Salve mater misericordie* is a *conductus* with *cauda* incorporating *rondellus* - a musical form identical to a *conductus* from Worcester Reconstruction 1, *De supernis sedibus*. He argues that *De supernis* must date from late in the century since it uses Continental notation in parts. There is of course a wide difference between formatting in score and in parts. These two sources particularly exemplify the characteristics of their types. One still uses score notation partly so that the aligning of the parts can help solve some of the rhythmic ambiguities inherent in the notation. The other uses notation which now stands quite independently and needs no such help. (Notwithstanding, Worcester Reconstruction 1 is clearly in many respects a "backwards-looking" anthology.) Wibberley's assertion that *Ob* Wood 591 is "a late source" must in any case remain contentious as we have no datable source from the same provenance with which to compare it.

Sanders also transcribes the *cum littera* sections of *O laudanda virginitas* isosyllabically. This song presents considerable problems. There are clearly two distinct

39. Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 67-68.

40. Sanders's transcription is in *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, 59; Wibberley's is in "English Polyphonic Music," 199.

simplex note-forms; although their usage is far from consistent throughout the three parts, there is nevertheless in selected places no doubt that *virga* is being alternated with *punctum*: and in the upbeat form of the second mode, too. Are all the *cum littera* passages to be read in a consistent breve-long, breve-long rhythm? This too would falsify what is present in the notation as much as an isosyllabic transcription does, and we must allow that much of the interest of the piece lies in the different ways in which the poetic lines are treated (see Examples 5 and 6).

Comparable problems are thrown up by the *conductus* source *Owc* 213* (*olim* 3. 16(A)*), which preserves one *conductus* with a continental concordance (*Ave tuos benedic*) and three English *conducti*. *Ave virga decoris* contains no rhombs. In *Ave tuos benedic*, the long-rhomb notation is entirely consistent in all parts. *Ave Maria salus hominem* is more problematic. The opening of the first *cum littera* phrase is neumatic, but at *salus hominem* both tenor and duplum have alternating longs and rhombs whereas the triplum has only longs. At *qua lux luminum* the problem becomes more acute, with five longs in the triplum set against long-rhomb-long-long-long in the duplum and long-rhomb-long-rhomb-long in the tenor. Only the last *cum littera* phrase, *plebi conferisti*, is consistent: long-rhomb-binaria-rhomb-ternaria-long in the triplum against long-rhomb-long-rhomb-ternaria-long in the duplum and long-ternaria-long-rhomb-binaria-long in the tenor. Only the opening of *Ave regina celorum*, *ave decus* survives, and in this composition rhombs as rhythmic determinants appear only on single pitches.

The notation of *Ctc* 0. 2. 1. - the Ely motet source - is all-in-all far more consistent: completely so, in fact, for the insular *unica*, which are mainly written in *virga*-rhomb = long-breve notation. However, one of the other works, *In veritate comperi-Veritatem*, is more problematic. This motet has a wide concordance base encompassing both mensural and non-mensural sources. The alternating *virga*-rhomb notation proceeds smoothly until *gladiis vistum* when the scribe lapses into oddly-grouped rhombs and

virgae. In the parallel mensural sources, there are no such problems. In this case, it seems unlikely, if the exemplar was in continental long-breve notation, that the scribe did not understand the notation he was copying; one possibility is that the exemplar was written in undifferentiated *simplices* and the scribe himself was supplying differentiable note-forms.

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that more than one musico-paleographical tradition existed contemporaneously in thirteenth-century Britain. Independently of their use as rhythmic determinators, rhombs must often have been written through force of scribal habit - or in some cases, where the scribe was unaware of more refined practices taking place elsewhere, because the orthographical differences between *puncta* and *virgae* did not signify rhythmic differences. If "high" and "low" polyphonic traditions could exist concurrently, it is likely that kindred orthographical customs accompanied them. It is for this reason that chronologies cannot be successfully posited simply by looking at one notational feature and charting its "progress": every rhomb must be examined on its own terms. Sources like *Ob* Wood 591 and *Owc* 213* suggest a transitional phase between non-significant and significant, but it cannot be over-emphasized how local such transitions may have been.

These traditions have of course been extremely difficult to assess because of the difficulty in pinning down a source to a particular place. We have seen that while they may have been used there, the "Worcester fragments" are very unlikely to have been composed at or for Worcester. We can with a certain amount of faith speak of "East-Anglian" sources (*Cjec* QB. 1, *Ctc* 0. 2. 1., *Csj* 138 (F. 1), *Cu* Ff. 2. 29), the clutch of sources from Reading/Leominster (*Lbl* Harley 978, *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 + *Ob* Rawl. C. 400*, and *Ob* Bodley 257), and those from the Northern abbeys of Durham (*Lbl* Cotton Fragment XXIX), Meaux (*US-Cu* 654 App.) and Revesby (*US-PRu* Garrett 119). The very few internal concordances for insular sources at least confirm rather than deny that

types of activity occurred in patterns (see §III). But it is misguided to reconstruct chronology via a supposed "morphogenesis" of English notation, when the notational types found in a source must depend largely on provenance and the repertory which that source transmits. If this is acknowledged, the corollary follows: that a meaningful morphogenesis cannot be constructed without first establishing basic facts of chronology and provenance.

There is another possibility, which potentially turns these findings around. In his 1982 paper "Paleography and Semiotics," Leo Treitler discusses the curious case of a piece of *cantus planus binatim* transmitted in a fifteenth-century Italian source in mensural notation which clearly bears no relation to the actual rhythm in which the composition was sung: it makes no musical sense. Treitler's explanation of this false relation between sign and signatum is that

the book functioned more as an emblem for the music that it "contains" than as a guide to its accurate performance... In their mimicry of the forms of notation used in centers of high musical culture, [the signs] seem to say, "This is a fine and elegant book... the possession of it brings honour to this establishment."⁴¹

Treitler aims to indicate possibilities of interpretation beyond those purely concerned with the "message" - in this case the music - itself. If we apply this to the sources we have been discussing, the question is inevitably raised of whether preservation in, especially, transitional forms of English mensural notation indicates more about the purpose of the book in its extra-musical capacity than about the rhythm of the compositions. Any such questions fundamentally challenge the concept of

41. Leo Treitler, "Paleography and Semiotics," *Musicologie Médiévale: Notations et Séquences. Actes de la Table Ronde du CNRS à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 6-7 septembre 1982*, ed. Michel Huglo (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, Editeur, 1987) 18-19.

morphological study of notation; they have wide-reaching implications for examining relationships between material and source by which it is transmitted.

§IV,iii: Paired-breve and long/breve notation

In insular sources of measured polyphony, three graphic patterns involving the rhomb can be isolated.⁴² In the first, rhombs alternate with *virgae*. In the second, single *virgae* alternate with pairs of rhombs. In the third, rhombs are found alone, in chains. The first species presents little difficulty and can only be read as first rhythmic mode. The second species must indicate mode III in "alternative" form (perfect long, imperfect long, breve) or binary form (imperfect long, breve, breve).⁴³ From third mode usage it can be deduced that when rhombs are found in pairs they may represent either trochaic or binary rhythm. Before the notion of binary rhythm can be postulated, there must be some theoretical support for its existence, however. These are the circumstances at the heart of the arguments surrounding the notational alteration of *Sumer is icumen in*.⁴⁴

Against Sanders, Wibberley convincingly shows that a problematic passage in Walter Odington must refer to binary rhythm.⁴⁵ Working on the hypothesis that binary rhythm

42. This introduction draws particularly on Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 39ff.

43. This was established by Sanders in "Duple Rhythm," 249-91.

44. The most recent discussion of the altered rhombs in Harley 978 is Ross W. Duffin, "The *Sumer* Canon: A New Revision," *Speculum* 63 (1988) 1-19. Previous studies of the composition include H. E. Woolfdrige's (typically) excellent early discussion in *The Oxford History of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901) I:181-2; Bukofzer, *Sumer is icumen in: A Revision*, University of California Publications in Music 2:2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944); Nino Pirrotta, "On the Problem of *Sumer is icumen in*," *Musica disciplina* 2 (1948) 205-16; Handschin, "The *Sumer* Canon and Its Background," *Musica disciplina* 3 (1949) 55-94; Schofield, "The Provenance and Date," 81-86; Sanders, "Sumer is icumen in," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 18:366; Wolfgang Obst, "Symer is icumen in' - A Contrafactum?," *Music and Letters* 64 (1983) 154-55; Wibberley's response to Obst in *Music and Letters* 65 (1984) 322-23.

45. The question of duple rhythm in Walter Odington rests on two passages: one referring to classical verse metres and the other to describe alternative rules of ligature patterning to produce binary rhythm. In the first (Hammond, *Walter Odington*, 127-8; Huff, *Walter Odington*, 8) although Odington describes the long, though having been worth two *tempora* by the early polyphonists, as later being "brought to perfection," Sanders concludes that statements later in the passage confirm that Odington considered the *modi recti* to have taken historical precedence over the *modi ultra mensuram*. In the second, (Hammond, *Walter Odington*, 133-4; Huff, *Walter Odington*, 18) which in any case reads as nonsense, Sanders considers Odington not to be referring to binary rhythm

does exist, Wibberley then examines in which ways this might be portrayed in the sources, given that no theorist describes distinct notational practices. He shows that in many manuscripts employing English mensural notation - particularly the "Worcester fragments" - the distinct scribal custom which served in the case of binary and ternary ligatures to indicate the difference between long and breve, breve and altered breve was to indicate a lengthening of the note by slanting the note-head in the direction of melodic motion, and to indicate a shortening by slanting the note-head away from the direction of melodic motion.⁴⁶ The weakness in the argument - what Lefferts has already criticised as "the argument from silence"⁴⁷ - is that "normal," straight-written ligatures represent the most controversial - i.e. binary - rhythm. To show that straight binary ligatures represent anything other than those which accord with the normal rules of propriety, it must be proven beyond doubt that the scribe was writing in strict accordance with the slant convention. Wibberley's reasoning of this with regard to the "Worcester fragments" shows convincingly that this was so. This breakthrough in the deciphering of English Mensural Notation represents one of the most singular and important discoveries relating to the corpus of thirteenth-century insular music. Why his work has been so little acknowledged even in the most recent literature remains a matter of surprise.⁴⁸

but to ways of notating *fractio* or *reductio modi* ("Duple Rhythm," 259-261). Wibberley concurs with Sanders's interpretation of Odington that he considered the *modi recti* to have taken historical precedence. Wibberley suggests, however, that Odington "is describing a previous state of affairs pertaining to the *modi recti*" ("English Polyphonic Music," 50) pointing out that "if the constituent note values of Modes III and IV did not involve alteration of the breve which immediately precedes the long, then these modes could, theoretically, be described as *recti*" (*ibidem*). Wibberley goes on to point out that "It should be reiterated that we are not arguing about the historical development of classical verse meters to music. The difference is simply that later theorists (Odington included) rationalised a system in which - for diverse reasons and arguments - the basic poetic meters were adapted to modal rhythm..." (*ibidem*, 51). Sanders has not acknowledged Wibberley's contribution to the discussion. Regarding the second statement, which is incomprehensible, Wibberley suggests the possibility of an understandable scribal error in the interpretation of an abbreviation, resulting in the placement of the word "ligature" in the Accusative. With a speculative emendation into the Nominative, the passage does make good sense, and Wibberley's arguments are compelling (*ibidem*, 50-58).

46. Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 57ff; *ibidem*, "Notation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," xxiii-xxvi.

47. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 107.

48. Caldwell does not take the opportunity to discuss this way in which English notation seems to have been capable of expressing distinctions unknown from Continental practice. He only mentions with regard to the "Worcester fragments" that "The notation,

Since Bukofzer's assertion that the Sumer canon is in binary rhythm, only Wibberley has had fresh evidence to argue that the notational alterations to the Summer canon represented rhythmic alterations as well. Having shown that ternary ligatures may be altered to indicate alternative mode III or binary mode III, he goes on to discuss the only ligature occurring in the Summer canon, a *podatus*, in the *pes*. He seeks to show that the scribe of the *Lbl* Harley 978 music booklet was writing in accordance with the slant convention not by citing an example from the other polyphonic pieces in the booklet but with an example from one of the monophonic songs following the canon. The relationship between notation, modal rhythm and monophony in modern scholarship is fraught - even more so than that between notation, modal rhythm and polyphony;⁴⁹ it is incautious to equate the one with the other, and ultimately the evidence evinced by the one is slim ground on which to base an assumption about the other. The monophony by its very nature cannot affirm that the scribe was applying the slant convention to the polyphony, and as Wibberley's case for binary rhythm rests entirely on one straight-written ligature in the *pes*, proof of binary rhythm is untenable.

which is of considerable refinement, is nevertheless not free from ambiguity..." but does not cite Wibberley's work. See *From the Beginnings*, 37.

49. The majority of recent work on the relationship between notation and rhythm in monophonic music agrees that the most important determining factor is the text. The disagreement is about *how* the rhythm (or meter, and the confusion between rhythmic and metric poetry has been one of the most problematic aspects of the argument) of the text determines the rhythm of monody. John Stevens explores the idea that melody must agree in number or pattern and discusses this extensively in *Words and Music* - most of the book is concerned with the problem - carefully critiquing the early scholarship of Ludwig, Aubry and Beck and the later work of modal-rhythmicists Tischler, Anderson, Knapp *et al*, though wisely, given Stevens's stance, ignoring these modal-rhythmicists' internal arguments (see Fred Flindell, "Syllabic Notation and Change of Mode," *Acta musicologica* 39 (1967) 21-34; Anderson's argument with Flindell, "Mode and Change of Mode in Notre-Dame Conductus," *Acta musicologica* 40 (1968) 92-114; Flindell's reply, "*Puncta equivoca* and Rhythmic Poetry: A Reply to G. Anderson," *Acta musicologica* 42 (1970) 238-48; see also Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1979) 383-407 and Tischler's argument against Knapp, "Vermass und musikalischer Rhythmus in Notre-Dame-conductus," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 37 (1980) 292-304). Other than these, *Words and Music* contains a large bibliography whose repetition would be a redundancy here. From a different standpoint - treatises on rhythmic poetry - Margot Fassler concludes in her article "Accent, Meter and Rhythm in Medieval treatises 'De ritmus'," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1987) 190, that "In early polyphony, primarily settings of melismatic portions of plainchant melodies, [Parisian composers] had no texts. And so they turned to the rhythmical regulation of consonance *and, later, of duration* to create the rhythmical patterns they so admired in their texted monophonic works [emphasis added]." Stevens argues that the poetic pattern which a composer set was "a purely numerical structure of stanzas, lines and syllables... The notes and the words are not so much related to one another as related both to a single numerical Idea..." (p. 499). Leo Treitler argues against this: "[Stevens's assessment] is not informed by an adequate account of the grammatical and syntactical resources of melody through which contact can be made with poetry" ("Medieval Lyric," *Music Before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist. *Models of Music Analysis* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992) 10. Treitler is not, however, criticising the principal of isosyllabicism itself but rather Stevens's approach as a tool of analysis of individual songs.

It is probably misguided in any case to identify the characteristics of paleographical features from one location and time with manuscripts from others. To transcribe the notational features of a codex which is probably from Reading of the mid-thirteenth century by assuming it shares features with sources from Worcester of much later in the century is highly dubious, but the conviction that W. de Wicumbe, Reading Abbey/Leominster Priory and Worcester are somehow inextricably linked will be hard to eradicate. Ultimately there is absolutely no evidence to link music practices at Reading with anything which survives from Worcester (see §III), and given this, we must allow that the practice of slanting note-heads to show shortening or lengthening of a note value was unlikely to have been operative in the music booklet of *Lbl* Harley 978.

Wibberley has pointed out that long-breve and paired-breve notation have often been found in the same source although in practice the two systems must both result in an alternation of longs and breves. As well as some leaves from Worcester Reconstruction 1 (for example, *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, ff. 7, 8, 22), the addition of the fragment *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 to *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* also shows this type of alternation. Whereas the tropic upper voice of *Descendit de celis... Gloria laus et honor* is written in alternating rhombs and *virgae*, the triplum of *Mirabilis deus-Ave Maria-Ave Maria* is written in chains of rhombs, with *virgae* always indicating perfect longs; by abstraction (the initial melismas of each verse are written in modal rhythmic ligature patterns), these must also indicate the first rhythmic or (alternative) third mode here. As with the other Reading rolls fragments, the slanted note-head practice is not in evidence. Long-breve rhythm predominates in the motet (see Example 8).

Example 8: *Mirabilis deus-Ave Maria-Ave Maria* (Ob Lat. liturg. b. 19)

re-gens ca-cu-mi-na; pau-pe-re re-gi-ur fe-mi-na. Que con-tu-ens sus-ti-

net om-ni-a; par-vu-lus va-git in-ter an-i-ma-li-a. 0

ni-mi-a gra-ti-e co-pi-a. Ut re-le-va-ret ad in-o-pi-

-a nos mi-ser-os. Ten-det ab u-bi-ra Ma-ri-e vir-

—ve

—ve

gi-ni-ca. Mi

Ma-ri-a. A—

Ma-ri-a. A—

[Mi]-ra ge-de-ra

[A]-

[A]-

m-tis p-er-pe-ra Ma-ni-a pu-ra per vis-ce-ra

De-i et ho-mi-nis car-nis et nu-mi-nis, Sal-va casti-ta-tis se-ra re-gem ce-li

fu-dit he-ra dans or-bi gau-di-a me-ra Pro-le fruc-ti-se-ra.

Domi-do-mi-na ce-li ca-cla-ra iu-bi-lum ag-mi-na di-cen-ti-a. De-o



First system of a musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "sit glo-ri-a. Et in ter-ra pax et le-ti-ci-a. Qui-". The middle and bottom staves have a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a style typical of 19th-century liturgical music.

sit glo-ri-a. Et in ter-ra pax et le-ti-ci-a. Qui-



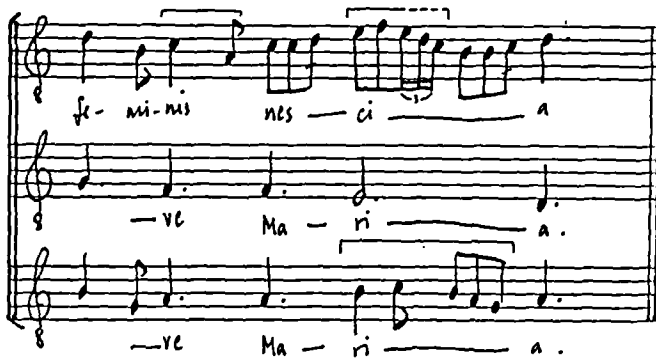
Second system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "-a De-us qui re-git om-ni-a. Na-tus est in Beth-le-hem O mi-ra". The middle and bottom staves have a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat.

-a De-us qui re-git om-ni-a. Na-tus est in Beth-le-hem O mi-ra



Third system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "gra-ti-a Ex u-te-ro vir-gi-nis Que pa-rit ho-mi-nis". The middle and bottom staves have a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat.

gra-ti-a Ex u-te-ro vir-gi-nis Que pa-rit ho-mi-nis



Fourth system of the musical score. It consists of three staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: "fe-mi-nis nes-ci-a". The middle and bottom staves have a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics continue on the next line: "-ve Ma-ri-a. -ve Ma-ri-a."

fe-mi-nis nes-ci-a
-ve Ma-ri-a.
-ve Ma-ri-a.

Ob Lat. liturg. b. 19 also supplies the missing *triplum* incipit for *Descendit de celis*, which Dittmer was not able include in his 1954 transcription.⁵⁰ This work is found on the same page as *Mirabilis deus* but in *virga-rhomb*, not paired-breve, notation. The incipit is given as Example 9.

Example 9: *Descendit de celis* (*Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19)

Des - -[cen] - -[dit]
 Des - -cen - -dit
 [de] - [ce] - -[lis]
 de ce - -lis.
 de ce - -lis.

50. Dittmer, "An English *Discantuum* Volumen," 55-58.

There is at least a possibility that the Reading rolls are those which W. de Wicumbe says he copied whilst at Leominster. So far, the conjectural period at which W. de Wicumbe is supposed to have been active has been paralleled⁵¹ with W. de Wintonia, sub-prior at Leominster and the owner of the lost book of polyphony whose index is found at the back of *Lbl* Harley 978, who is recorded as having been at Leominster in 1276 and back at Reading in 1284.⁵² This would place the rolls in the second half or even the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. W. de Wicumbe states that the sub-prior at whose exhortation he corrected and amalgamated the *collectarium* was R. of Worcester, and since he was only at Leominster for four years, he is unlikely to have overlapped with Wintonia. W. de Wicumbe's scratched list was written after he had returned to Reading but, it seems, before he had written his Alleluyas, as he would have been certain to mention them if he had already written them. By the time the index in *Lbl* Harley 978 was made, the cycle was completed and had come to be collected in Wintonia's anthology. This suggests a largeish gap between the activities of Wycombe and Wintonia and places Wycombe some time earlier in the century.

Andrew Wathey's recent success in establishing a date for the rolls from an examination of the grain account on the dorse of *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 does place them at the time when Wicumbe would have been copying the manuscripts he mentions in *Ob* Bodley 125, even though Wathey himself approaches the identification of *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* + Lat. liturg. b. 19 with W. de Wicumbe's roll with considerable scepticism.⁵³ This dating must rank as a watershed in the history of thirteenth-century music. The account records in a cursive court or business hand the days on which an amount of money was paid ("*sol*"), but without mention of a regnal year or other form of dating. Several feast days

51. Sanders, "Wycombe, W. de," 553.

52. See Schofield, "The Provenance and Date of 'Sumer is icumen in'," 83.

53. I am grateful to Andrew Wathey for a fruitful conversation regarding this, though I remain more optimistic than he that these are W. de Wicumbe's rolls. I am also most grateful to Wathey for sharing the information on the dating of *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19 with me prior to its inclusion in the forthcoming *RISM BIV*₁₋₂ Suppl.

occur, however, including St. Scholastica, St. Gregory, St. Dunstan and St. Barnabas. Wathey deduces that the succession of saints' days used for dating shows that, in the year of the account, the morrow of St. Scholastica (11 February) was a Sunday, that the feast of St. Gregory (12 March) fell on a Monday (the year before, therefore, was not a Leap year), and that Pentecost fell between the Sundays after St. Dunstan and before St. Barnabas, on either 27 May or 3 June. The second of these is unlikely, since 10 June would be celebrated as Trinity Sunday rather than as the feast of St. Barnabas; it follows that Easter Day fell on 8 April. Possible years for end of the account, therefore, are 1246, 1257 or 1319. The last of these is too late for the script and contents of the document; since the compilation of the 1248 Assize of Grain probably predates the account, 1257 remains its most likely year. Wathey also points out that these items must have been written *after* the music on the face of the roll, as some holes in the parchment perforate the work of the music scribe but were avoided by the scribe of the grain account. It follows that the music must have been copied before 1257.

The most important fact for this date though is not whether it can provide evidence of W. de Wicumbe's activities but that it establishes a date by which time rhomboid breve English mensural notation must have been in place; there is now no reason to doubt that the long-proposed date of *c.* 1240 for the Summer canon is in the least unreasonably early. But what the Reading rolls record in terms of the age of the repertory they preserve must perforce remain unknown. The date immediately invites comparison with *F* and *W*₂: however, whereas these manuscripts clearly transmit works which had already achieved classic status, the function of Reading rolls is on balance more likely to have been to record music whose dates of composition and of copying can be more closely reconciled with each other.

Let us conclude by illustrating a somewhat curious example of just how long paired-breve alternative third mode notation persisted. *Equitas in curia* is the only composition transmitted by *Cgc* 820/810, fragment L. This is a puzzling source from many points of

view. *Equitas* is spread over an opening - and so must have been intended as the middle opening of the gathering - though nothing precedes or follows it except bare staves. The *triplum* is written on the top of the right-hand side and the *duplum* on the left, with the tenor across the bottom of the opening. In its present cut-down state, the size of the written block is not abnormal - 205mm by 120mm - but to have accommodated the openings of the upper voices, the vertical dimension would have to be extended by four staves, or in other words to approximately 305mm. This is unlike any other manuscript surviving from the period. On the other hand, it is not impossible that something had gone badly wrong with the copying by this stage. There is no crease down the middle of the leaf, showing that it was never bound. The notation must be relatively late: naturals and flats are indicated clearly and are in the same ink and hand as the note-forms, unlike for instance the accidentals in *Ob* Rawlinson liturg. d. 3 which seem to have been added later. There is clear differentiation between the *virgae*, the square *puncta* and the rhombs; however, instead of representing mensural semibreves, the rhombs can only indicate alternative third mode. This suggests that paired-rhomb notation was still used to differentiate between regular and alternative third mode *cum littera* notation well after the adoption of Franconian notation.

§V: THE CONTENTS AND ORGANISATION OF INSULAR SOURCES

§V.i: Genre

It is customary to think of the term *conductus* implying a distinctive, or at least a reasonably definable genre for the polyphonic Notre-Dame repertory: a para-liturgical or non-liturgical newly-composed song, whose style may be entirely syllabic or include *caudae* in varying degrees of complexity. Stylistically, it would be difficult to confuse a Notre-Dame *conductus* with a Notre-Dame *organum* or a Notre-Dame motet. In contrast, defining an "English" *conductus* as separate from a troped chant setting, a polyphonic sequence, a *rondellus* or, later, a *cantilena* becomes more of a problem, based on a delicate balance of textual form and content, musical style and function. If, in Britain, the genre of polyphonic *conductus* includes in broad terms high compositional art which is not based on a *cantus prius factus* - in other words, freely-composed polyphony - then this contrasts neatly (at least in conceptual terms) with compositional activity which is based around a pre-existent tenor. The terms "*conductus*" and "motet" cannot of course be indiscriminately used to denote composition not based or based, respectively, on a pre-existent tenor; as Lefferts has pointed out, many English motets are motets through their vertical structure - that is, the rhythmic relationship between the texted, foreground voices and the untexted, structural skeleton voices - even though they are not built on pre-existent tenors.¹ There is no denying that ultimately, stylistic issues of this sort dominate over the difference between tenors which are or which are not pre-existent; while these problems may be more relevant to the fourteenth-century motet than the earlier thirteenth-, and while it is true that, for this earlier repertory, we could not with confidence delineate the *stylistic* differences between, say, a note-against-note *organum* and a common-discant *conductus*, it is equally valid to determine genre by such conceptual questions as by issues of style and the incorporation of certain

1. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 4.

compositional techniques. "Chant-based" and "freely-composed" might even be defined, for Britain at this time, as compositional polarities, both of which could and did make use of the same techniques: discant, *rondellus*, voice-exchange, note-against-note technique - unlike the three clearly-definable Notre-Dame genres of *organum*, motet and *conductus*, which also imply stylistic distinctions. For England, then, both motets and troped chant settings would be included in the same "category" of chant-based pieces, as distinct from freely-composed *conducti*.

It is most important, but almost impossible, to gauge the degree to which the mythical concept of plainsong as a holy object (having supposedly been dictated to St. Gregory by the Holy Spirit) was psychologically crucial; that the motet never became profane, as it did in France, points to a greater degree of sensitivity to liturgical propriety in England. Although building a motet on a non-liturgical tenor makes no difference to the compositional process, however, there is a large difference in what we might call the "meditative focus." For a motet on a plainsong tenor, this focus would be on the holy object itself: the psychological "background" of the composition. For a motet on a non-liturgical tenor, this meditative focus has shifted to what we might in contrast call the psychological "foreground": the musical interest, particularly of the upper voices. But a non-liturgical motet tenor differs yet again from a non-liturgical *conductus* tenor. Although a non-liturgical motet tenor is nothing more or less than a structural device, which would serve the *composition* just as well as a plainsong, a (non-liturgical) *conductus* tenor is in contrast still the most important voice, for which the others serve as decoration. It simply does not suffer in this way from ever having been a liturgical genre. The difference in compositional method between motet, where the tenor is broken up without reference to its melodic shape, and *conductus*, where the tenor is preserved intact, is of the utmost importance. The interactions between borrowed and newly-composed parts of such compositions still constitutes a difficult area of enquiry and one which often resists attempts at rationalisation.

Crocker points out, however, that the specifically English repertory was "based upon the flow of new chant composition."² What distinguishes the English, liturgical "pre-existent" tenor from the Notre-Dame is that hardly any of the chants are from the older, "genuinely Gregorian" layers; unlike the *Magnus liber organi*, English composers tended to set recent, medieval chants. There are noteworthy exceptions: some of the troped Alleluya settings in the "Worcester fragments" and in *Ob Rawl. C. 400**, discussed in §III. On the whole, though, Notre-Dame *organa* and motets adorned genuinely "holy" articles (if that is really how Gregorian chants were seen), which marks the contrast between English and French practice even more strongly. It also brings English chant setting closer to the theoretical description of *conductus* composition - first composing a tenor and then adding other voices - although there is no evidence either way to show that this was actually how *conducti* were written; and troped chant settings still involved a creative response to someone else's material - poetical as well as musical. Clearly, to try and classify compositional practice through tracing such responsive procedures is fraught with difficulties.

§V.ii: Copying traditions

We have already questioned whether the Notre-Dame *conductus* repertory, while distinct from the *organum* and motet repertories, is internally any more easily definable in terms of function, musical style and textual content; in practice, the term has become catch-all and includes almost anything polyphonic which is not an *organum* or a motet - in fact, anything found in a *conductus* fascicle. It is easy to see how such oversimplification has arisen. For Anonymous IV, the stylistic types covered by the term *conductus* were synonymous with the separations of volumes of polyphony into *libelli*: three-part, two-part and simple *conducti*; *conducti* with or without *caudae*. Working from the supposition that the Notre-Dame manuscripts which survive today

2. Richard Crocker, "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century," 688.

represent examples similar to those which Anonymous IV described, "Notre-Dame *conductus*" has come as a term to cover the *conducti* which are copied into the *conductus* fascicles of "Notre-Dame" manuscripts. The circularity of this is obvious, but has stemmed partly from the confusion over the relationship between the workshop in Paris where *F* was copied and the relative proximity of the cathedral of Notre-Dame.³ Of the four major "Notre-Dame" sources, *F* is seen as the most important because it preserves the greatest number of pieces. This combination of circumstances has no doubt been the single largest contributory factor to the acceptance of "Notre-Dame *conductus*" as a catch-all term; but there is of course no inherent relationship between the institution and the manuscript, and no way of knowing which pieces in *F* had their origins at Notre Dame cathedral. Robert Falck's attempts to separate smaller repertoires within *conductus* fascicles, which will be discussed below, is at least an important acknowledgement of the confusion with which we are faced in trying to grapple with such a large and varied corpus of compositions.

Let us look at some of these "Notre-Dame" poems. The texts of *conducti* copied in the major "Notre-Dame" sources are as varied as their musical styles. They have been characterised primarily by their intellectual content, and the symbolism and biblical imagery which proliferates in many of the poems has now been well documented.⁴ They have also been sharply contrasted with the texts of insular *conducti*. These latter have primarily been characterised by their predilection for votive Marian texts. If we look at the insular and Notre-Dame *conducti* from *Ob* Wood 591, the traditional dichotomy is borne out. In *Salve mater misericordie*, the Virgin is invoked as star of the sea, ornament of the Church, gateway to the heavenly assembly, salvation of the world, giver of forgiveness (*stella maris, decus ecclesie, porta via celestis curie, mundi salus* and

3. This word of caution applies to *conducti*, not *organa*. Wright has shown *F* to have a close relationship with the Notre-Dame liturgical tradition (*Music and Ceremony*, 258).

4. Anderson, "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth Century Music," *Studies in Music* 4 (1970) 19-39; "Symbolism in Texts of Thirteenth Century Music: A Postscript," *Studia musicologica* 5 (1971) 153-229.

datrix venie); in *Salve rosa venustatis* she is rose of beauty, unfading flower, ornament of chastity, inextinguishable light (*flos immarcessibilis, decus castatis, lux inextinguibilis* and *vera vite via*) - imagery which can be found in the bulk of insular texts, whatever the genre. Both *conducti*, typically, conclude with petitions for mercy; *O benigna*, the last, incomplete *conductus* from *Ob Wood* 591 begins with an invocation to *preces audi*. All three of the Notre-Dame pieces from *Ob Wood* 591 concern the birth of Christ - *Virga Jesse* also the Crucifixion - though for *Virga Jesse* and *Beate virginis* the focus is on the Blessed Virgin as a pure vessel through which God's son passed. In *Beate virginis* and *Virga Jesse*, the Marian Notre-Dame *conducti* from this source, however, the symbols are quite different. Gordon Anderson notes that the idea of Mary's flesh being made fertile by the Holy Spirit is taken from the Gospels (Matthew, I:20; Luke, I:35); later in the poem she is symbolised by the burning bush which was yet not consumed by the flame (Exodus, III:2) - as she remained uncorrupted on the birth of her son. At the end of the poem, her obedience itself becomes the seed which made her fertile (no direct reference, but see Luke I:37-38).⁵ In *Virga Jesse*, the prophet Isaiah's foretelling of the birth of Jesus is invoked (XI:1), and *Virga Jesse regio/Flore decoratur* (The rod of Jesse is embellished with a royal flower). The second strophe then moves on to the Crucifixion, again using Isaiah, this time the dual image of garments stained by the wine press of human blood: *A qua prelum Babylonis/intra situlam fullonis/sanguinem expressit* (From the vineyard the wine-press of Babylon/within the fuller's bucket/presses out blood). Anderson's explanation of this passage is that " 'Treading the wine-press alone' refers to Christ beneath the weight of the Cross, and the wine-keg which catches the juice is the chalice."⁶

5. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*; III:107/XXIV.

6. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*; IV:57/XXX.

There are however many examples of "crossing" between these two divisions. *Conducti* such as *Ave maris stella virgo*, *Gaude virgo virginum* or *Porta salutis ave*,⁷ found in the four central sources, are indistinguishable from "typically" insular texts.

There is no doubt, too, that the nomenclature problem associated with *conductus* as a genre has been exacerbated because the early scholarship of this century tended to focus on the Aquitanian and Notre-Dame traditions to evolve an understanding of the term; divergences from those traditions are still seen as "peripheral" and thus when the term *conductus* is applied to those "peripheral" traditions it needs to be modified.⁸ It is also easier to apply a term like "*conductus*" where items show homogeneity, and certainly the *copying* tradition on the continent, if not the musical style, bears this out. In contrast, of course, the tattered and fragmentary condition in which insular sources exist make it impossible to examine copying traditions in the same way. The difference between the well-preserved manuscripts of France and the lamentably fragmented insular remains should not be underplayed, although in terms of recoverable repertory the picture is by no means as black as it was once painted, and we can now count well over fifty complete or completable thirteenth-century English freely-composed polyphonic pieces apart from motets (as well as many more fragmentary pieces) from over fifty sources.⁹ Moreover, many of these sources do provide clues as to what kind of manuscripts they were in terms of compilation, and suggest that mainstream imported repertories co-

7. Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*; *ibidem*, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," numbers D1, G5 and I2.

8. See for instance the *New Grove* article "Conductus" by Janet Knapp (4:651-656). It is concerned entirely with Aquitanian and Notre Dame traditions, and the English tradition merits no more than a few brief words at the end where it is reduced to "the same combination of materials and influences as the German school... The majority are simple settings for two and three voices." This is nothing less than a complete misrepresentation of the high insular tradition. For a redress of the balance, see Losseff, "Conductus," *The Garland Encyclopedia of Medieval England* (forthcoming). Yudkin's *Music in Medieval Europe* does not acknowledge English involvement at all, even making the extraordinary statement with regard to motets that "[the English musical tradition] came more and more under the influence of the French style"! (p. 419).

9. We are particularly indebted to Adrian Bassett and Andrew Wathey for their systematic searches through the libraries of Britain for this. I am very grateful to William Summers for allowing me to see material from his and Peter Lefferts's forthcoming volume of facsimiles of thirteenth-century English sources of polyphony, which provides an up-to-date list.

existed with indigenous "common discant" polyphony and with pieces in the high insular style: which Sanders has described succinctly as characterised by *rondellus*, voice-exchange, and the preponderance of vertical thirds.¹⁰ In sources transmitting mainly foreign repertories there may also be unique pieces written in a style copying the imported pieces rather than reflecting indigenous compositional practice, and this is notably the case for sources from institutions which seem to have had particularly Francophile tendencies: *Cjec* QB. 1 has *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit*, and *W₁* *O quotiens volui* and *Si quis amat*, all three arguably indistinguishable from the bulk of what they transmit (even allowing for the voice exchange passages in *Novi sideris*). But manuscripts transmitting Notre-Dame music may present an amalgam of many different traditions, and, other than the two sources which preserve only one Notre-Dame *conductus* apiece, added on a blank leaf - *Lbl* Harley 542 and *Lbl* Harley 5393 - there is not a single source which simply transmits Notre-Dame music and nothing else.

Stylistically, the two non-Parisian songs from *Llp* 752 - *Cristus natus* and *Barabas dimittitur* - belong to the simpler insular repertories of Latin sequences and two-part *conducti*. Most other examples of these types in the indigenous repertory are to be found as additions to miscellanies rather than purpose-written books of polyphony: *Llp* 457, *Lbl* Sloane 1580, *Lbl* Arundel 248 and *F-Pn* fr. 25408. However, *WOc* Add. 68, Fragments XXIX and XXX, and of course the eleventh fascicle of *W₁* also preserve this type. If the style of *Cristus natus* and *Barabas dimittitur* seems simple compared to Notre-Dame, compare these Latin crucifixion laments with the vernacular two-part crucifixion lament *Jesu Cristes milde moder*, from *Lbl* Arundel 248. They are of a different order, musically and textually; in the vernacular piece, the two parts mainly

10. See Sanders, "England: From the Beginnings to c. 1540," *Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. F. W. Sternfeld (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973) 255-279. Nos. 20-88 of Sanders, *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* represent many genres written in the high insular tradition.

move in contrary motion through a common tone or else in unison, and the style is almost totally syllabic.¹¹

Cjec QB. 1 and *Ob* Wood 591 preserve more sophisticated compositions alongside the Notre-Dame *conducti*. *Ob* Wood 591 has four *unica*: *O laudanda virginitas*, *O benigna preces audi*, *Salve mater misericordie* and *Salve rosa venustatis* in classic "high insular" style: texted and untexted *rondellus* sections, predominantly triadic *cum littera* sections. *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit* from *Cjec* QB. 1 is, as we have stated, in pastiched Notre-Dame style, albeit Sanders's "second-generation" Notre-Dame style which, it has been argued, borrowed substantially from English compositional practice.¹² Further, three-stave systems, text and flourished initials for two more pieces were entered after the Notre-Dame *conducti* in *Cjec* QB. 1, hinting at the tantalizing possibility of more music in either pastiched Notre-Dame or high insular style. This does seem to single out *Llp* 752 with its "common-discant" songs; however, given that what survives must be the tiniest part of what once existed, too much significance should not be attached to this. More important is the way in which the mix of repertoires preserved by *Llp* 752 can serve to comment on the much-discussed binding together of the main corpus of *W_I*, which represents one tradition, and its eleventh fascicle, which represents another. Most discussion of this union has focussed on style and chronology: the question of whether the simpler style of the pieces in the eleventh fascicle implies an earlier date of composition than the Notre-Dame pieces. Ludwig tentatively estimated the date of the eleventh fascicle of *W_I* as first half of the twelfth century;¹³ Sanders disagreed that it was so early, suggesting instead the latter half of the twelfth century;¹⁴ Handschin had

11. For an edition, see Sanders, *English Music of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, 1.

12. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 265.

13. Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," *III. Kongress der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Bericht* (Wien: Artaria; Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, 1909) 107.

14. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 263.

already recognised the *style* as older than the Notre-Dame school¹⁵ but thought the *fascicle* must be later than 1225.¹⁶ Roesner, like Handschin, recognised that fascicle eleven "appears to have held itself aloof" from the progressive developments of the thirteenth century, leaving open the possibility that it was later than the compositions of the main corpus.¹⁷ Everist suggests that the pieces in the eleventh fascicle and those in the main corpus of *W₁* which are in pastiche French style should be viewed as a provincial response to both English and French compositional practices.¹⁸ Flotzinger considered the eleventh fascicle expanded the *Magnus liber organi* for local use and was later than the main corpus:¹⁹ this relied on the presence of pieces for the Feast of Corpus Christi in the eleventh fascicle, but Everist has pointed out that neither the date of England's adoption of the feast nor the texts themselves really bear this out. Caldwell states that "At one time the music was considered to be archaic compared with that of Notre-Dame" but goes on to broach the possibility that "the exclusion of sustained-note style in the Alleluias suggests on the contrary a more up-to-date idiom." He concludes:

It is of course possible that the sustained-note style was never widely cultivated by native composers, and that the restriction to *discantus* style in the St Andrews source is due to long-standing tradition and lack of adventurousness rather than to a conscious modernism. In all probability the truth lies between these extremes: here perhaps is an early instance of

15. Handschin, "Gregorianisch-Polyphones aus der Handschrift Paris B. N. lat. 15129," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 25 (1930) 69.

16. Handschin, "Eine wenig beachtete Stilrichtung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1924) 73.

17. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 355.

18. Everist, "Anglo-French Interaction."

19. Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift *W₁* und ihrem 11. Faszikel," [Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 19], *Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 105 (1968) 245-262.

a typically insular characteristic, the countering of an inherent conservatism by putting old techniques to new uses.²⁰

This discussion of the eleventh fascicle is sandwiched between a passage concerning the insular pieces in Parisian style from the main corpus - "If they are by an English or Scottish composer then they are by an insular master of the Parisian style" - and a short paragraph judging a Sanctus trope from the main corpus to show "a degree of accomplishment approaching that of contemporary *organum triplum*, remarkable indeed if by a British composer." Caldwell too, then, places the compositional procedures displayed by the eleventh fascicle of *W_I* in deprecatory relation to Notre Dame techniques. Compositional method cannot necessarily be equated with chronology and "progress." It is possible that the common-discant style was valued because it did not deflect attention from the liturgy itself in the same way as the sheer length of Parisian settings must have caused them to do. *Lp* 752 is a vital link between two traditions as it shows without doubt the possibility for two distinct stylistic types to cohabit the same fascicle without any question of contamination by one style to the other. Transferring this to *W_I*, we cannot seriously suppose that composition in common-discant style indicates inferiority of compositional ability; when there has been an attempt at pastiche - in *Cjec* QB. 1 and the main corpus of *W_I*, for instance - this is quite obvious, and cannot be mistaken for anything else.

Sanders has stated that

Most of the preserved sources of the 13th century show that the border lines between polyphonic genres were far more fluid in England than in

20. Caldwell, *From the Beginnings*, 27.

France... *conducti*, *rondelli* and motets of all varieties are generally not separated in the manuscripts.²¹

Elsewhere, with reference to the "Worcester fragments," he comments that in many English sources from this period, "specimens of several [different compositional] categories are found without strict separation from one another."²² Everist's research on the professional book-production of the Parisian *ateliers* led him to point out the difference between this type of book-production and provincial, more *ad hoc* manuscript production in France. More recently, and although disclaiming an overview of the subject, Everist used a couple of insular sources which showed particularly mixed groups of pieces - the Aberdeen fragment²³ and *W₁*²⁴ - to describe an "eclectic" copying tradition in England.

The lack of any single surviving codex has rendered it almost impossible to understand how insular sources are ordered. On a basic level, French manuscripts are arranged according to the number of voice parts and, secondarily, according to genre, although it is not unknown for mixing to take place. In *F*, for instance, there is only one fascicle for four-part pieces, and in it there are *organa*, *conducti* and *clausulae*. After these are entered, there occurs a two-part piece (folio 11) on a three-stave system; the upper stave has been left blank. In the middle of fascicle six, which is a *conductus* fascicle, two motets have been entered, but with the tenor separately at the end, not incorporated into

21. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," 539.

22. Sanders, "Sources, MS, §VI: English polyphony, 1270-1400," 657.

23. *ABu* 2379/1.

24. The main discussion is of the binding together of the main corpus and the eleventh fascicle of *W₁*, though there is much that is interesting amongst only the fascicles of main corpus. It is obvious that *W₁* copies its format from French models, but there are important differences between its covers and those of *F* which have been rather underplayed. The most remarkable of these must be the appearance of organal *Benedicamus domino* settings in the ninth, a *conductus* fascicle, as well as Agnus tropes. The liturgical explanation may be simple: perhaps that the first ten-and-a-half folios of fascicle nine contain *Benedicamus* settings and substitutes for when these were allowed, which effectively renders this opening portion of the fascicle quite separate from that which follows.

score format as in *W*₁: *Latex silice-Latus* [228] and *Serena virginam-Manere* [69] - as well as one entirely in score: *Beatis nos adhibe-Benedicamus domino* [761].²⁵ Fascicle nine contains not only two-part motets in parts but also three three-part motets, one in parts and the other two in score: *Mors que stimulo-Mors morsu-Mors* [254] (folio 400'); *Stirps Jesse-Virga cultus-Flos filius* [647;648] (folio 409'); and *Ypocrite pseudopontifices-Velut stelle-Et gaudebit* [316;315] (folio 411').

The meagre remains of most insular sources do actually suggest that they were organised in this rigid way. The Harley 978 list shows that the book of polyphony it indexes was organised by genre: after the first group of pieces, the columns are even headed "*Responsoria*," "*Cunductus*," "*Motetti cum una et duplici nota*," "*Motetti cum duplici littera*," "*Item moteti cum duplici nota*." The cycle of Alleluys follows the Kalendar, ending with Marian pieces. Furthermore, most of the *conducti* from insular sources survive in what seem clearly to have been *conductus* fascicles. *Cjec* QB. 1, *Llp* 752, *Ob* Bodley 257, *Ob* Wood 591, *Occ* 489 and *Owc* 213* contain solely *conducti*. *Csj* 138 (F. 1), *Ctc* 0. 2. 1., *Cjec* QB. 5, *Lwa* 33327, *Ob* Savile 25, *US-PRu* Garrett 119 and *D-Gs* Theol. 220g are all motet sources, though how these were internally organised is not immediately apparent. *Lwa* 33327 transmits half of the extant four-part motets from this period, making it the largest source of its type: seven of the eight motets are four-part, in a section actually headed "quadruplices" but the remaining one is a three-part piece, in fact a *F-MO* H. 196 concordance, in a section headed "triplices." The other sources transmit only three-part works, but these do not reflect a common pattern. In *Csj* 138 (F. 1), one of the four pieces is built on a liturgical tenor - *Benedicamus Domino* - while the other three are built on a *pes*. *Ctc* 0. 2. 1. also borrows continental repertory,

25, But see Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellung: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Berne: Francke Verlag, 1973) 514-517. Sanders argues that "At least three of these pieces are contrapuntally acceptable only either as motets without the added [upper] voice or as *conducti*... A careful examination reveals *Latex silice* to be a *conductus*... under whose tenor someone stimulated by the word "Latex" and by the ending of the first and last of the poem's three stanzas ("immolatus") made a not quite successful attempt to fit the Gregorian melisma." There is no doubt that the taxonomical question is somewhat problematic here; it is dealt with more fully in Mark Everist's forthcoming book on the medieval motet.

though adapting both *Virgo decus castitatis* and *Agmina militie* to a more English pattern by, in the case of the former, substituting a new, monotextual triplum and for the latter, inverting the order of the top voices and transposing the new duplum down an octave.²⁶ It hardly needs stressing that what is meant by an English motet source is different, perhaps radically so, from what is meant by a French motet source. *Cu* Ff. 2. 29 transmits a Notre-Dame organum and a troped Sanctus setting, but the leaves are not contiguous and may well have originated in different fascicles.

Of the fragments which only constitute one folio but which transmit more than one piece, *Ccl* only contains tropic Kyrie motets, *Cgc* 803/807 only tropic Agnus dei settings and *CAC* Add. 128/8 only tropic Alleluya settings. It may of course be overstating the case to assume anything about the organisation of an entire source from the evidence of one leaf.

Only a comparatively small number of sources blur this picture. The rest of the polyphony which survives shows a different pattern. *DRu* Bamburgh Sel. 13 contains a *conductus* and a motet, though these are linked since both are pieces for St. Peter. Other small fragments display a more basic division of style and genre. *ABu* 2379/1 contains a Notre-Dame *organum*, the tenor of a motet and a Kyrie trope or tropic Kyrie setting, representing the beginning and end of a gathering.²⁷ *Ccc* 8 has a *conductus* and a motet in English, an Anglo-Norman motet and Latin *clausulae*. *Occ* 497 begins with troped Kyrie settings but then continues with *conducti*. The motets on folios three and five which have concordances in *F-MO* H. 196 were added later.

On the evidence of these sources, those preserving a single genre together are more numerous than those preserving mixed genres. But a degree of faith is required to make

26. Roger Bowers, "Trinity College, MS 0. 2. 1, 47.

27. See §III.

assumptions about copying traditions on the basis of a single folio. At least with the "Worcester fragments" we have a large body of material, much of which must originally have formed a smaller number of polyphonic collections. They include one set of fragments at the British Library, *Lbl* Add. 25031, but apart from this set, are now housed in two collections: *WOc* Add. 68 and *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20. Both are composite sources. In 1924, after about twelve years of research, Anselm Hughes realised that several binding flyleaves in Oxford and Worcester manuscripts in fact represented a limited number of original sources. His request that a composite codex, comprising originals and photographs, be formed at Oxford according to his foliation was facilitated by the fact that the Sub-Librarian at the Bodleian was also the Consultant Librarian at Worcester Chapter Library. The new manuscript, *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, consisted of photographs of *Lbl* Add. 25031; photographs of *WOc* Add. 68, Fragments IX, X, XI, XIII, XXVIII and XXX; photographs of *Oma* 100; the flyleaves of Bodleian manuscripts Auct. F. Inf. 1. 3, Bodley 862 and Hatton 30. Confusingly, the original flyleaves from *Oma* 100 were donated to the Chapter Library at Worcester and incorporated into the collection *WOc* Add. 68. The rest of *WOc* Add. 68 comprised flyleaves from Worcester manuscripts O. 72 (Fragment IX), F. 125 (Fragment X), F. 133 (Fragment XI), F. 64 (Fragment XIXa), F. 37 (Fragments XIXb and XIXc), F. 43 (Fragment XXIX), F. 109 (Fragment XXX), Q. 24 (Fragment XXXII) and Q. 31 (Fragment XXXI). Only three of these parent manuscripts have definite Worcester connections: O. 72, F. 37 and F. 43.²⁸ None of the leaves of F. 109 display Worcester connections - in fact among them is an appeal to Pope Clement V by the House of the Blood of Christ at Ashbridge, Bucks. - and as Fragment XXX shows no common text or music hands with the other fragments, it is not included in this discussion.

28. See relevant entries in John Kestell Floyer and Sidney Graves Hamilton, *Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*, (Oxford: James Parker & Co. for the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1906).

Despite Dittmer's criticism of the compilation of *Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20*,²⁹ he recognised that the assembly comprised two main groups according to uniformity of size: volumes 1 (folios 1-21 and ?22), 3 (folios 23-24) and 4 (folios 36-39), and volumes 2 (folios 25-32 and ?33) and 5 (folios 34' and 35). Since Dittmer, Roger Wibberley has isolated and tabulated the notational and scribal hands of the fragments.³⁰ He distinguishes seven music and nine text hands.

In isolating a "network" of scribes and notators, Wibberley concludes that all the music must have been copied at roughly the same time; whether we do or do not come to agree with his argument for a network of scribes, he is certainly correct in distinguishing where one hand stops and another starts. What does the isolation of scribal hands tell us about how these copyists viewed genre? According to Wibberley, Notator A was the most promiscuous, copying works in every genre in English Mensural and Franconian notation. He occurs in fragments XVIII, XIII, *Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20* folio 22 and the middle and end sections of Reconstruction 1, along with notators C, D, and E. Notator B is quite different, more specialist, copying only troped Alleluya and Sanctus settings in English Mensural Notation, and in this respect is similar to notator E, who copied only freely-composed polyphony: all motets on a *pes* except for *Munda Maria*, a *rota*, and only in English Mensural Notation. Notator B wrote most of Reconstruction 2 but nothing else; other notators of this volume were D, E and F. Notator C copied the beginning only of Volume 1 and Fragment XX and therefore occurs with notators A, D and E. Notators D and E are the only music hands which occur with every other music hand. F only occurs briefly in Reconstruction 2 and in Fragment XXXII. Of the text hands - according to Wibberley - [a] [b] and [d] occur in Reconstructions 1 and 3, [e] in Reconstructions 1 and 2, and [f] in Reconstructions 2 and 3. Wibberley openly acknowledges other paleographers' entitlements to express other opinions, and there is

29. Luther Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments: A Catalogue Raisonné and Transcription*, Musicological Studies and Documents 2 (American Institute of Musicology: n. p., 1957) 12.

30. Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 18-20.

no doubt that the attribution of hands is always open to argument. I would dispute all these connections except one: scribe [e] is unmistakably as Wibberley tabulates. The attribution of scribe [a] to Reconstruction 3 is more open to question. Owing to the larger module of Fragment XIX this hand is more difficult to assess, but I cannot agree it is the same hand that occurs so frequently in Reconstruction 1. If indeed this hand does not occur in Reconstruction 3, then this has serious implications for the view that Reconstructions 1 - and hence Reconstruction 2, with which Reconstruction 1 shares hand [e] - was written at a period which could encompass Petronian notational reforms. Ultimately, the connecting of Reconstructions 1 and 3 rest on a common identification of hands, and thus scribe [a] is the only evidence for Reconstructions 1 and 2 having been written as late as post-1300.

It is even more difficult to agree that the network of scribes can be discerned throughout the other "Worcester fragments" too: XVIII, containing *Alleluya V. Nativitas* with the embedded *ex semine clausula*, XXXIV, XII and Fragment XXIX. This last is not even a book of polyphony, but an entirely separate and different type of source. Polyphonic settings are interspersed among Mass Ordinary plainchants.

Wibberley would seem to be on safer ground with the notators; if he is correct, then with the exception of B and E, none of them would have had responsibility for copying any one particular type of music. Indeed, while clutches of pieces in one genre occur in places, these do not seem to coincide with breaks in the gatherings. Bearing in mind the ascertainable gaps in Reconstruction 1, barely a single section contains only one type of piece. Between folios vi and vii' there are only troped chant settings, and even if these continued to folio xiii, with a troped Offertory setting, on the same side there is a *conductus* in part-format, *De supernis sedibus* - and this is followed by a motet on a *pes*. Between folios lxxiii and lxxiii', motets on a *pes* follow a troped Introit setting. Between folios lxxvi and lxxvii, a troped Gradual setting precedes motets on a *pes*. The

single folio lxxix contains a four-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes* and a troped *Alleluya* setting. This pattern continues throughout Reconstruction 1, with chant settings alternating with free polyphony in no apparent order, generic, liturgical, alphabetical or stylistic.

Reconstruction 1 is basically determinable by the medieval foliation. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment X is a bifolio, the middle of a gathering, containing troped Kyrie and Gradual settings. Given that the same scribes are found in *Lbl* 25031, and that this group starts with a troped Offertory setting, going on to freely-composed polyphony, it would be feasible to imagine other troped chant settings on the lost folios viii-xii. Following folio xvi, there is a *lacuna* of fifty-six folios. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXXI is a single folio whose foliation is missing, but it is contiguous with the first folio of *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII and must therefore be folio lxxiii, as Anselm Hughes noted. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII consists of two bifolia, not contiguous: folios lxxiiii plus lxxix, and folios lxxvi and lxxvii, the middle of the gathering. Thus, one bifolium is missing from in between these two, folios lxxv plus lxxviii; *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXXI plus its missing other half, namely folio lxxx, may have formed the outside bifolium, making this a quaternio. The missing leaf would have contained the remainder of *Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluya V. Post partum*, a problematic composition transmitted in three other related versions (see §III, n. 43), which is in a different hand from any of those in this mixed bag. It is difficult to make internal reconciliation for this repertory; even allowing for the possibility of a group of troped chant settings at the end of the missing fifty-six folios, or a smaller group of the same on the missing folio lxxv, this gathering would still alternate between free polyphony and troped chant settings which are not in liturgical order. Further, no argument could be made for heterogeneous pieces being "additions" as the flourishing was clearly all done at the same time. The next gathering would have been a quaternio if the preceding gathering were a quinio, or vice versa. Of this, only one bifolium remains, *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folios 12 and 13, i.e.

folios lxxxiii and lxxviii. These only contain freely-composed polyphony: motets, a *rota* and a *rondellus*. We have three bifolia from the gathering following this: *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folios 14-19, i.e. folios lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxiiii and their partners lxxxix, c and ci. This would have made a large gathering of six or seven bifolia, depending on whether the preceding gathering were a quaternio or a quinio, and is one of the most homogeneous. A group of troped chant settings is followed by motets, though there then occurs another troped chant setting. The remaining bifolium of this group is *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XI, i.e. folios cxxxvi and cxxxix - not cxxxviii as Dittmer reconstructs, as this could not form a pair.

It is quite possible that the pair of bifolia comprising *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XIII slotted in somewhere in one of the gaps in Reconstruction 1. There can be no doubt on paleographical grounds that these four folios at least belonged to the same volume. Wibberley noted that the size of the leaves was approximately the same - 280mm by 200mm.³¹ A more accurate measurement can be taken from the dimensions of written area. In the case of Volume 1, *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20 folio 22 and *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XIII, these dimensions are as far as is determinable the same - 155mm by 200mm or 220mm when there is an extra stave. Added to this evidence, there is the question of the minor initials. Throughout Volume 1, two types of initial in no more than two hands are found. The plain types are found on folios vi, vii, lxxiii, lxxiiii, lxxxiiii and cxxxvi-cxxxvii. The flourished types are found on folios lxxvi-lxxx, lxxxiii, lxxxviii and lxxxii-lxxxiii. From the style of designation comes the evidence that Fragment XIII and the rest of Reconstruction 1 are the only sources to label the *pes* from the incipits of the upper voices (see above, §III). As we have shown, the handwriting and notation even suggests that two bifolia of Fragment XIII could have formed the missing folios lxxxv-lxxxviii. This would give a group of troped chant settings alternating with motets, including one four-part piece. Similarly, there is no

31. Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 27.

reason to think that *Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, folio 22* (originally Hatton 30) was from a different codex; the flourishing and written block width (the length is lost) match the remainder of Reconstruction 1, and the hands are, as Bukofzer³² and later Wibberley³³ say, the same as *Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, folios 17 - 19* and *WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI*.

Figure 6 shows the arrangement of the folios such as can be determined together with listings of compositions and genre in Reconstruction 1.

Although such a large amount of the codex is lost, it is not impossible to imagine to what extent the remainder is representative of the original anthology. The result - constant alternation between free and chant-based polyphony not apparently in liturgical or kalendrical order - is much harder to evaluate, and it would be difficult to formulate alternative ground-rules for generic categorisation which would make sense of the ordering of this source. Lefferts observes that there is still much to be discovered about para-liturgical function of both polyphonic and monophonic accretions,³⁴ building on Harrison's earlier work on polyphony as a substitute for ritual and non-ritual interpolation,³⁵ and this might in time yield some basis for logic. At the moment, the suggestion that liturgical function plays some part in the ordering seems invalid. In the group of troped chant settings between folios lxxxii and lxxxiiii (*Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 folios 14 to 16*) the Alleluyas do follow a Gradual - but then a Kyrie follows the Alleluyas. Earlier in this study, we suggested that a comparison of the chants from the Worcester gradual and the polyphony showed that the polyphony was not written at or for Worcester; given the difficulty in making sense of the order of the pieces, the idea that these are volumes containing a mixture of useful, perhaps popular pieces drawn

32. Bukofzer, *Sumer is icumen in*, 89.

33. Wibberley, "English Polyphonic Music," 20.

34. Lefferts, *The Motet in England in the Fourteenth Century*, 11

35. Harrison and Wibberley, *Manuscripts of Fourteenth Century English Polyphony*, xvi.

Figure 6: Projected gathering arrangement of Worcester Reconstruction 1

WO = WOc, Additional 68, Fragment
 Ob = Ob Lat. liturg. d.20, folio
 Lbl = Lbl Additional 25031

medieval foliation	item	genre	modern shelfmark	scribe/ notator (Wibberley)
I				
II				
III				
IIII				
V				
VI	<i>Christe lux mundi</i>	tr. Kyrie setting*	WO X,1	Cd
VII	<i>...anges-Lux-Kyrieleyson</i>	tr. Kyrie setting	WO X,2	Cd
VIII	<i>Benedicta domina</i>	tr. Gradual setting	WO X,3	Cd
IX				
X				
XI				
XII				
XIII	<i>Felix namque</i>	tr. Offertory setting	Lbl, 1	Cd
XIIII	<i>De supernis sedibus</i>	rond-conductus	Lbl, 2	Cd
XV	<i>Proles eterne</i>	motet on a pes	Lbl, 3	Cd
XVI	<i>Quem non capi</i>	motet on a pes	Lbl, 4	Cd
XVII	<i>...natum quo salvantur</i>	conductus	Lbl, 5	Cd
XVIII				
XIX				
XX				
XXI				
XXII				
XXIII				
XXIIII				
XXV				
XXVI				
XXVII				
XXVIII				
XXIX				
XXX				
XXXI				
XXXII				
XXXIII				
XXXIIII				
XXXV				
XXXVI				
XXXVII				
XXXVIII				
XXXIX				
XL				
XLI				
XLII				
XLIII				
XLIIII				
XLV				
XLVI				
XLVII				
XLVIII				
XLIX				
L				
LI				
LII				
LIII				
LIIII				
LV				
LVI				
LVII				
LVIII				
LIX				
LX				
LXI				
LXII				
LXIII				
LXIIII				
LXV				
LXVI				
LXVII				
LXVIII				
LXIX				
LXX				
LXXI				

etc.

from a wide area seems the most likely. This would certainly explain both these difficulties: why the polyphonic settings do not match and why the order of works is not based on liturgy. Of course, the fact that the chants did not match exactly would not present a problem for performance - it only shows that the gradual is unlikely to have been used as a basis for polyphonic accretion.

Reconstructed Volume 2 shows a considerably greater consistency although if Hughes, Dittmer, Wibberley and most recently Lefferts and Summers are correct about the ordering of the folios, the beginning of the volume was written by several people: folios 23 to 25 were copied by three notators and three scribes, not including the palimpsest, and contain a voice-exchange motet on a *pes* and troped chant settings. After this, and not including the other palimpsest, folio 26' or the addition, *Candens crescit lilium* on folio 28' the repertory is limited to troped chant settings, copied by B and c for the bulk of the volume. After the chant settings, hands D, E and F with scribes c, e, f and g copy motets on a *pes*, including one four-part work, and *conducti*. Although according to this ordering Reconstruction 2 shows greater stylistic and generic consistency, it scarcely approaches the homogeneity of French copying practice.

As the size of the leaves alone has determined whether they be included in Reconstructed Volume 2, it is not certain that the accepted order is correct: unlike Volume 1, there is no medieval foliation to guide. If we look at the remains slightly differently, we could say that of twelve folios, eight or possibly nine were copied by the same scribe and same notator, B and c, and include the same type of music. The "ninth" folio, under question, is *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, folio 35', to which Wibberley assigns notator D but which I think is notator B: *Thomas gemma*, which is definitely on a *recto* since the stub of the companion folio still survives, must be a palimpsest since the *verso* does not contain the beginning of ...*dans quod vocis*.

The twelve folios which remain of Volume 2 consist ostensibly of eight single leaves and two bifolia, though of the single leaves, *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, folio 25 and *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXXV leaf a must have formed the middle bifolium of a gathering since the two songs which occupy these leaves each spread across the opening. The palimpsest items were then entered on the other side of this bifolium, which suggests that the parchment had already been removed from the parent volume. There is the possibility that the items not in hands B and c did not precede but followed the items in hands B and c. In this case, a more homogeneous picture emerges. We would have a group of troped Alleluya settings followed by a group of troped Sanctus settings, which would then be followed by miscellaneous items in various hands. It would however be considerably too great a jump of the imagination to suppose that what is lost from before such a postulated reconstruction preceded neatly, in liturgical terms, the troped settings, or that the miscellaneous items represented additions at the end of the collection.

Apart from the "Worcester fragments," there is another large body of insular material in the composite source *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* + *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19. In Chapter IV, we mentioned the problems in evaluating the points at which the different pieces of polyphony were added, and concluded that certain stylistic features of the polyphony suggested they were copied roughly at the same time. The first roll unites, paleographically, the text hand of the booklet as well as the text hand of the second roll: the former on the *verso*, the latter on the *recto*. The music on the *recto* and *verso* together constitute, with the exception of Dittmer's reconstructed *Alleluya Gaude plaude V. Judicabunt sancti* from *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment IX, the entire body of troped Alleluya settings introduced with a section of *rondellus*. In the case of the booklet, this can only be surmised, since only the texts survive. However, there is no other precedent for text occurring in this type of pattern other than for *rondellus*. Also, only one part of *Alleluya clare decet*, the second piece on the first roll, survives, and it is impossible to

say whether this would have been part of a *rondellus* as we would need at least the first six perfections - *rondelli* occur practically without exception in multiples of three perfections - of at least two parts, or alternately, twelve perfections of one voice. Similarly, not enough survives of the last Alleluya setting to make a judgement as to whether it does or does not begin with a *rondellus*.

In *Alleluya Christo jubilemus*, the upper voice is lost at the beginning, but the third statement of the *rondellus*-block is complete and the beginning can be reconstructed without hesitation. The more florid, tropic middle voice is pitted against a genuine tenor and a slow-moving upper voice which contains rests. With the second statement of the *rondellus*-block, the tenor acquires a text, *Christus natalitia*, which overlaps into the closing section where it moves to the lower-neighbour-note sonority. There is a voice-exchange section near the end of the piece, but no more *rondellus*. The *rondellus* at the beginning of *Alleluya Adoremus ergo* can only be reconstructed from likelihood: what survives is eighteen perfections, which divide into three blocks of six, each of which demonstrably passes through what must represent a different layer of voice-type - from a "tenor," to a slow-moving voice with rests, to a florid, tropic voice - and which sound good together. This is also the case for *Ave sanctitatis speculum*, and though the *rondellus*-blocks are only three perfections long here, it seems possible from what remains that the whole was then repeated. With *Ave Maria plena gratia*, eighteen perfections of two voices survive.

Alleluya Gaude plaude, from the "Worcester fragments," is noticeably different. Only one voice survives. Dittmer has taken the first fifteen perfections and by omitting to "reconstruct" the outer voices for the last two of these bars, has turned them into a *rondellus* section. This is highly suspect. Firstly, the "*rondellus*"-blocks are four perfections long, which is unique. Secondly, Dittmer leaves out the rests at the end of the "*rondellus*" section, which when restored, make it sixteen perfections long. If this is

genuinely reconstructable, then the two textually-distinct sections of eight perfections suggest voice-exchange, not *rondellus* technique. This is shown in Example 10.

Voice-exchange troped Alleluya settings are common among the "Worcester fragments," and *Alleluya Gaude plaude* should now find its place among them. What we have in the Reading rolls seems to be a unique collection. But are these characteristics so unique as to constitute a subgenre? This is impossible to examine meaningfully. Only *Alleluya Christo jubilemus* survives in complete enough form. A comparison with the other completable troped Alleluya settings suggests that nothing otherwise in its style would seem to set it apart.

Example 10. *Alleluya Gaude plaude* (WOR 2)

Gau-de plaude Ma - ri-a.... ob - ra Al -

Al - Gau-de plaude Ma -

ri - a.... ob - ra.

The repertory of the "Worcester fragments" encompasses many generic, stylistic, notational and probably chronological types, in little discernible order. It is crucial to define here, and for the other sources which do or do not order contents "logically," the purpose for which they were copied. This is most likely to provide the key to the ordering not only of the volume as an entire document but also the lay-out of the pages. Three broad categories: commonplace books, or miscellanies, emanating from a monastic milieu, into which one or a handful of pieces were entered; richly-decorated, high-quality volumes which were probably presentation volumes - at any rate, objects which were of more intrinsic value as physical entities than for the material they contained; and manuscripts whose usefulness, and hence potential beauty in terms of sound, does not derive from their art-historical or paleographical value - workaday volumes, in fact. Both Craig Wright and Christopher Page, using different sets of data, have argued that Notre-Dame polyphony was disseminated in no small part by clerics returning to their native foundations after a period in Paris. Page points out that the *Magnus liber* "as it appears in W_2 , for example... can be seen as the result of an essentially commercial exploitation of Leonin's legacy by a mobile body of singers,"³⁶ noting that the singers of *organum* at Notre Dame were not members of the chapter, but were "drawn from a shifting body of clerics [whose position]... was highly insecure," and who would be paid piecemeal for the polyphony they performed.³⁷ With Craig Wright's argument that the contents and interrelations of F , W_1 and W_2 actually represent a *reduction* of the *Magnus liber organi*, an extraction which could be used in the rites of other churches too,³⁸ it is easy to shift this argument to a broader base and suggest that sources were ordered in a way that depended on their destination - function, use or even taste affecting the way in which books were put together, rather than the dictates of number of voice-parts or genre. W_1 displays this clearly. Roesner considered

36. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 151.

37. Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 144.

38. See Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 235-272, but particularly 270.

that "The MS was intended for practical use rather than display," and contrasted the utilitarian grade parchment on which W_1 was written with the "carefully prepared vellum onto which such MSS as F and W_2 were copied."³⁹ There is nothing in the layout of the music which would suggest otherwise.⁴⁰

In the light of this, we can view the connection between Anonymous IV and the Bury St. Edmunds Notre-Dame source *Cu* Ff. 2. 29 (and by extension the companion *conductus* source *Cjec* QB. 1) in two ways. What was he doing at Bury? Returning home to his native ecclesiastical foundation after a period in Paris and taking with him Parisian polyphony? Or, far from lecturing to people who were "familiar, from hearing them, with a number of items from the Notre-Dame repertory, and wishing to know how it was done," perhaps the Bury monks are more likely to have been people who had been given high-quality volumes of Notre-Dame polyphony, and wishing to know what they meant.⁴¹ Either way, this has serious implications for the theory that polyphonic music was sung at the places from which volumes of polyphony have been found. It may be entirely valueless to know the provenance of a source like *Ob* Wood 591, as it may never have been used as a "performance copy," and indeed the music it transmits may never even have been heard in the place for which it was copied.

What the above discussion also shows is how difficult it is to approach questions about English music other than through the lens of a French cultural telescope. This is of

39. Roesner, "The Manuscript Wolfenbüttel," 26.

40. Stanley Boorman has written that "The three early Notre Dame sources [F , W_1 and W_2] carry a repertory... which cannot have been planned for performance directly from the score. There are many places in all three where that would have been impossible, and the music contained could not all have been intended for use, even from memory" ("Sources, MS, §I, 2: Introduction, function," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17:591-2. Actually this is not accurate for W_1 though it is true for the other two. There is not a single place which does not permit performance directly from W_1 since all the polyphonic items are laid out in score.

41. Whether the size of the volumes may be said to bear this out is questionable: at over twice as large as either *Llp* 752 or *Ob* Wood 591, they do not immediately suggest the intimacy of a performance copy, although the corollary - that small equals personal - is patently not the case for *Ob* Wood 591.

course not confined to musical studies; the historical intertwining of the political areas of "England" and "France" make the definition of the terms "English" and "French" in terms of cultural production of necessity not so much fluid as irrelevant. This is not to say either that an Anglo-French cultural intertwining extended to individual, personal perception of nationality. Indeed, recognising that a certain degree of Francophilia existed among the non-French *cognescenti* - that it did must be the largest single reason for the dissemination of Notre-Dame music in Britain - must prove, contrariwise, that a very clear individual perception of nationality must have existed on this island.

§V,iii: "Primitive" polyphony

It is harder to find a context in terms of French Notre-Dame sources for the generically-mixed *Llp* 752 than for either *Cjec* QB. 1 or *Ob* Wood 591. It was suggested above that when, in an insular source, there has been an attempt at pastiching the kind of Parisian music which the manuscript mainly preserves, this is quite obvious and could not be mistaken for anything else. In fact *Llp* 752 makes a real contribution to our understanding of "primitive" polyphony in England, confirming some of the thoughts about the position of this type relative to "high art" polyphony which have been put forward. Crocker, as recently as 1990, has placed at the head of his chapter on "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century," a description of "common-discant" practice which

would have been in use by cathedral musicians at numerous places on the Continent and England... Common discant lacks the strong, distinctive features of the Notre Dame style. Paradoxically, that style, in all its individuality, became known

as 'universal', while the common discant practice around it was ubiquitous even if nondescript.⁴²

Crocker compares this style unfavourably with that of the Notre-Dame school, but by including the discussion of common-discant in the chapter on *England* implies that it was the infiltration of the Notre-Dame repertory in England which revolutionised insular style. In the light of the research presented at the 1980 Cividale congress on primitive polyphony,⁴³ this view appears outdated - even though published ten years after the conference. While most of the Cividale papers concerned simple polyphony from the fourteenth century and later, and from other geographical areas than England, many of the questions raised do still apply to the common discant repertories of thirteenth-century England, in particular those concerning relationships between common discant and sophisticated repertories where they are found together. Margaret Bent notes that

The argument, sometimes advances, that *cognoscenti* would not have needed to write down simple polyphony, is not borne out by its survival in places where there is evidence of a concurrent tradition of art polyphony and mensural theory. In discussing the English carol, Greene asked the crucial question: "Popular in origin or popular in destination?" and we should recognise in the case of Italian simple polyphony that its simplicity was, in a significant number of documented cases, neither the simplicity of condescension nor that of incompetence... It seems... as though we must assume a common, musically cultivated origin

42. Crocker, "Polyphony in England in the Thirteenth Century," 679-680.

43. Cesare Corsi and Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Le Polifonie Primitiva in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 agosto 1980*, Miscellanea musicologica 4 (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989).

and at least to some extent a common market for simple and for art polyphony, in a significant proportion of the surviving "simple" sources, and that the division between them may not lie quite as neatly with the mensural barrier as has been suggested.⁴⁴

Rudolf Flotzinger, in his discussion about Austria, notes that

Early Austrian manuscripts of polyphonic music such as the famous *Codex Buranus* also transmit in single-part versions (notated in neumes) a number of *conductus* of which two-part versions are known elsewhere. Does this mean that in 13th-century Austria the two-voice Parisian style was not liked, or that it was not understood? It is certainly a fact that Notre Dame music was not taken over in Austria in its original (modal-rhythmic) form. Not a single fragment of this music has been preserved in the Austrian sources. Even in some of the later manuscripts motets are transmitted in homophonic versions, a fact which may perhaps be taken as proof of real aversion in Austria to this otherwise very fashionable art... Is it legitimate to speak of non-mensural polyphony as "peripheral" or "tradition" merely because it did not absorb the new Notre Dame compositional techniques? Could not this non-assimilation be taken as proof that in Austria there already existed a lively and deeply-rooted tradition of polyphony which for centuries (in Church music at least: secular music is another matter) afforded little opportunity for radical innovation?⁴⁵

44. Margaret Bent, "The definition of simple polyphony. Some questions," *Le Polifonie Primitive*, 42.

45. Flotzinger, "Non-mensural sacred polyphony (*discantus*) in medieval Austria," *Le Polifonie Primitive*, 60.

Bent's and Flotzinger's comments contain questions which have implications for a wider repertory than that which they each discuss, although the sources they introduce differ from *Llp* 752 in that they preserve Notre-Dame pieces in a dismembered form. *Llp* 752 and *W₁* show that the preservation of sophisticated Parisian works with simple songs is not a situation which is limited to a chronological period or a place. There is no question that the compositions in simple style are a bad attempt at pastiching Notre-Dame *conducti*. That two such diverse styles can co-exist so closely shows that they must both have been regarded as legitimate practices of equal weight, albeit for different reasons and in different ways.

It was suggested at the beginning of this chapter that the Notre-Dame *conductus* repertory is no more easily definable in terms of function, musical style and textual content than the repertory of *conducti* found in English sources. It may be said simplistically that most Notre-Dame *conducti* are either syllabic, neumatic or melismatic in varying degrees. Although in *F* they tend to be grouped according to style, this may not reflect the *original* ordering of a collection (this is discussed below). It has been convenient to think of these stylistic differences as being conditioned by how far the development of the Notre-Dame style had proceeded in terms of sophistication. Sanders has attempted an evaluation of style and technique through examination of datable *conducti*⁴⁶ but admits that

the examination of available evidence... produces suggestive perspectives, even though it yields relatively spotty results... .⁴⁷

46. Sanders, "Style and Technique."

47. Sanders, "Style and Technique," 505.

English repertories - simply because they force us to look at questions of preservation with a fresh eye - tend to show that style is no indication of chronology and that seeking to show stylistic development while not admitting the possibility of the coexistence of simple and sophisticated styles is illusory and misleading. This does not of course preclude the possibility that various techniques went in and out of fashion.

§VI: GROUP BEHAVIOUR

§VI,i: Notre-Dame *conducti*

It has long been clear that Notre-Dame *conducti* do not comprise a single stylistic type. At the simplest level, the polyphonic repertory can be divided into four-part, three-part and two-part pieces, though many three-part pieces are found in reduced form in some sources; into syllabic, neumatic and melismatic compositions; and into strophic and through-composed settings. Robert Falck's contribution to our understanding of the Notre-Dame *conductus* repertory has been to examine lists of *conducti* from the manuscripts and, by comparing the patterns of concordances, to note that discernible groups of pieces are often found together or near each other. Falck attempts to isolate these small collections and suggests that they constitute specific, perhaps geographical or chronological repertories which subdivide the *conductus* fascicles of Notre-Dame manuscripts. On the basis of concordance density, he suggests that "central" pieces - that is, what he considers to be true Notre-Dame works - occur first, with *unica* generally appearing towards the end of fascicles.¹ It cannot be argued that there *are* patterns of transmission evident in *conductus* fascicles.² What is questionable is the extent to which these collections represent *original* groupings, as the following discussions will show. We may begin with the Notre-Dame collection which survives from *Llp* 752. What do *Austro terris*, *Ortu regis* and *Pater noster* represent as a repertory? They are certainly similar in terms of style: big, through-composed melismatic pieces mainly found in two

1. Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 72.

2. Everist implies that the discovery of a source whose contents "cuts across" fascicular divisions and Falck's subdivisions renders Falck's argument void. Everist uses the composite source *Ob Auct.* VI. Q. 3. 17 + *CH-SO* S. 231 as an example of a source which he claims does this, but admits that "it seems impossible to establish whether [the fragments containing monophonic compositions] are parts of the same bifolium or taken from two different ones... Two types of composition are certainly represented but the codicological relationship which they bear to each other is difficult to demonstrate" ("A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century *Conductus*," *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam*, I:107-109). By exemplifying a non-central source whose reconstruction is uncertain, Everist shows the carelessness of Falck's demonstration rather than disproving it.

parts, though *F* preserves both *Ortu regis* and *Pater noster* in three parts. That they were, at least in some manuscripts, a cohesive group is without doubt. In the sixth fascicle of *W*₂, *Ortu regis* and *Austro terris* occur side by side, with *Pater noster* coming two pieces later. The middle third of *W*₁'s ninth fascicle, which Falck has convincingly argued represents a distinct repertory, begins with *Austro terris*, followed by *Pater noster*, with *Ortu regis* occurring three pieces later. In *F* and *Ma*, however, this linking is not so simple. *Ma* preserves both *Austro terris* and *Ortu regis* in its fourth fascicle, though they are separated by five pieces, and *Pater noster* in its fifth fascicle. The group in the sixth fascicle of *F* among which *Pater noster* and *Ortu regis* are transmitted is substantially the same as *Ma*'s fifth fascicle which preserves *Pater noster*, whereas the group in the seventh fascicle of *F* in which we find *Austro terris* and the third strophe of *Ortu regis* is clearly related to the fourth fascicle of *Ma*. The repertory of *Ma*'s fifth fascicle, closely linked with that transmitted in the opening group of the sixth fascicle of *F*, is also that found in the second, discrete repertorial section of *Lbl* Egerton 2615; in *W*₁ this same group is divided between the beginnings of the eighth and ninth fascicles. Although in Egerton 2615 our three pieces are *not* preserved, it may be argued that they were part of the same repertorial group, which David Hughes has called "a selection of the most popular Parisian pieces."³ Falck has gone so far as to conclude that this group represents part of an original corpus of works belonging with the *Magnus liber organi*.⁴ The repertory of *Ma*'s fourth fascicle represents a less cohesive whole; it is found in the second half of *F*'s seventh fascicle and the latter two-thirds of the ninth fascicle of *W*₁, though in both cases spread out considerably and interspersed with a good many other pieces. This is shown in Table 5, where different typefaces have been used to show different "repertories."

3. David Hughes, "Liturgical polyphony at Beauvais in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 34 (1959) 184-200.

4. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 46-56.

Table 5 might appear confusing, but as it attempts to show that isolating small repertories is virtually impossible, we would be surprised if it were *not* confusing.

It is most important to take into account the manner in which *F* transmits *conducti*: strictly according to the number of voice parts. Where pieces are partially in two parts and partially in three, these strophes are even separated and put into different fascicles - as, for instance, with *Ortu regis*. Although Anonymous IV also divided *conductus* collections by the number of voice-parts, the fact that some sources contain only "reduced" forms of mixed voice-part pieces show that as far as the preservation of repertories is concerned, *F*'s separating-out of strophes creates what are essentially artificial repertorial divisions. It is most probable in any case that by the time repertories came to be copied into *F*, they had already been merged or separated, both via the exemplars from which they were copied or directly from those exemplars. Most important also to remember is that *F* may date from ten to twenty years after *W₁* and should probably be viewed as another, younger generation of Notre-Dame copying; indeed, in view of the widely-held belief that the motet had risen to prominence by the 1240s, *F* testifies to a very lively interest in the *conductus* post-dating the rise of the motet. The presence of all three of our pieces together in any one group may therefore argue for one branch of transmission where at least two repertories had already merged; alternatively, sources which preserve our pieces in two separate fascicles may show nothing more than an artificial separation of two- and three-part pieces, albeit via a long-lost exemplar. The list in Table 5 showing the contents of the four fragmentary sources in which *Austro terris* is preserved should also show the danger of attaching too much significance for repertorial grouping in the large Notre-Dame manuscripts.⁵ Even the results of this small list are virtually unmanageable. While what it includes may

5. Falck could have used his inclusion of insular sources to point out the wide difference between insular and Parisian copying traditions, but instead deals with insular sources by attempting to abstract single pieces from what are essentially anthologies in order to bolster his decodings of layers - a highly questionable methodological approach.

seem arbitrary, it illustrates on a small scale that fine-tuning the isolation of repertories is impossible.

Similar results are obtained when the repertories preserved by *Cjec* QB. 1 and *Ob* Wood 591 are subjected to the same sort of test. *Cjec* QB. 1 transmits fourteen Notre-Dame pieces, seven three-part - from the flyleaves - and seven two-part - from the pieced-together quire-guard fragments. These two sets probably represent sections of two different fascicles. Each set will be discussed separately.

Set one consists of *Procrans odium*, *Si mundus viveret*, *Fas et nefas ambulant*, *Leniter ex merito*, *Fulget Nicholaus*, *Premii dilatio* and *Crucifigat omnes*: an interesting set not least because three of the pieces are musically connected with other *conducti*. The tenor and sometimes *duplum* of *Procrans* exists as a *chanson*: *Amour dont sui espris / M'enfforce de chanter* [1545], attributed to Blondel de Nesle in six of the nine sources in which it is preserved,⁶ and the melody or two lower parts⁷ were also taken over for another text, attributed to Gautier de Coincy: *Amour dont sui espris / De chanter me semont* [1546].⁸ These *chanson* texts find their Latin contrafact in the monophonic *cantio* *Suspirat suspiratus* [1545/6].⁹ The melody is also found as the tenor of the *conductus* *Purgator criminum* [F2], whose text is a diatribe against the Jews.¹⁰ *Leniter ex merito* is found twice in *W*₁: the version in the eighth fascicle is the same as that in *Cjec* QB. 1, while that in the second fascicle contains a *Benedicamus domino cauda* which is lifted from *Naturas deus regulis* [C7], and whose tenor is that of the *GO* melisma of the Gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* [M 32]. *Crucifigat omnes* is derived

6. See Raynaud, *Bibliographie*, I:240.

7. The two-part version is found in the *Chansonnier Noailles*, F-Pn fr. 1536.

8. See Raynaud, *Bibliographie*, 2:164.

9. *Lbl* Egerton 274 and *CS-Pck* NVIII.

10. Falck notes some of these correspondances in *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 56.

from the final *cauda* of *Quod promisit ab eterno* [G6], a Nativity season *conductus*. Otto Schumann considered *Crucifigat omnes* to have been written at the time of the Third Crusade (1187-89)¹¹ but Sanders has argued more convincingly that *Crucifigat* is a summons to the fifth crusade and should be dated 1219 or 1220.¹² Stylistically the group is fairly homogenous. All but one of the pieces are syllabic, and the *caudae* are structurally insignificant; the exception is *Premii dilatio*, which has *caudae* at the end of almost every poetic line.

Procrans odium is structured with voice-exchange technique over repeated melodic fragments from the upper voice-part, and creates an aural effect closer to *rondellus* technique than is usual with voice-exchange over an independent tenor. However, it differs from true *rondellus* in its use of repetitions: instead of the typical *rondellus* three-times-three, *Procrans* works in even-numbered phrase repetitions typical of voice-exchange pieces. Triple repetition is ultimately the most immediately discernible aural characteristic of *rondellus*.

It is interesting that the tenor of this piece is also found as a monophonic *cantio*, two *chansons* and another three-part setting; but more, that *Procrans odium* and *Purgator criminum* are never found together. The former is transmitted in *F*, *Ma*, *Cjec* QB. 1, *D-Mbs* lat. 5539 and *D-Mbs* clm. 4660. The latter only occurs in one source with music - *W₁* - though the text is transmitted in *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510, *Ob* Add. A. 44 and *A-Gu* 258.

F contains all seven pieces; *Ma* only the first two, *W₁* the last four, and *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510 the texts of five. *W₂* contains only *Crucifigat omnes*, found in a two-part version in

11. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann (eds.), *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols (I¹ and II¹: Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930; I², ed. Schumann: Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1941; I³, ed. Schumann and Bernhard Bischoff: Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1970) II¹:99.

12. Sanders, "Style and Technique."

Table 6: Concordances for the 3-part pieces in *Ciec QB.1*

item	F	W ₁	W ₂	Ma	Ob Rawl. C. 510	Other	Comments
<i>Procurans odium</i>	6,24	*	*	6,2 (a 2)	*		
<i>Si mundus viveret</i>	6,25	*	*			<i>D-Mbs</i> lat.5539; <i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660	T. found elsewhere; ending in <i>Ciec QB. 1</i> different
<i>Fas et nephas</i>	6,22	*	*	6,4 (a 2)	29	*	
				*	35		
						<i>Ccc</i> 202; <i>D-Mbs</i> clm.4660; <i>F-Lym</i> 623; <i>D-FU</i> C.11	
<i>Leniter ex merito</i>	6,21	2,4; 8,16	*	*	26	*	
<i>Fulget Nicholas</i>	6,16	8,18	*	*	*		<i>Benedicanus Domino cauda</i> in <i>W₁</i> 2,4 = that of <i>Naturas deus</i>
<i>Premii dilatio</i>	6,6	8,6	*	*	33	*	
<i>Crucifigat omnes</i>	6,35	8,10	3,10 (a 3) 7,1 (a 2)	*	24		Derived from <i>cauda</i> of <i>Quod promisit</i> ; <i>W₁</i> has 2 unique strophes; refers to 75th crusade, 1219
						<i>E-BUlh</i> ; <i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660; <i>D-SJ</i> HB. 1 Asc. 95	

fascicle seven and a three-part version in fascicle three. This is in any case one of the most widely-disseminated *conducti*. In *F*, *Ma*, *W₁* and *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510 they are found mainly close together, as Table 6 shows.

The two-part pieces are less closely associated in other sources. The irony of this is immediately apparent: in *Cjec* QB. 1 it is this group which is contiguous and the three-part group which is not. Six out of seven are found in *F*, but while five occur at the end of *F*'s seventh fascicle, one occurs much nearer the beginning (see Table 7). While four pieces are transmitted in *Ma*, three are in the fourth fascicle and one in the third. Six are transmitted in *W₁*, including a version of *A deserto veniens* only found in *Cjec* QB. 1 and *W₁* (9,52, not 9,81: the latter [J3] is the same as the *F* version), but these are widely scattered. Only *Deduc syon* occurs in *W₂*. None occur in *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510. In contrast to the two-part set, all these pieces are complex, melismatic compositions; there is one datable piece, *Anni favor iubilei*, a summons to the Albigensian crusade, probably from 1208, which occurs only in *F* and *Cjec* QB. 1. Table 7 gives concordances for the two-part pieces in *Cjec* QB. 1.

Table 7 confirms that there is a tenuous relationship between this part of the seventh fascicle of *F* and the fourth fascicle of *Ma*, discussed above; what should be stressed here, however, is not the relationship, but the fact of its tenuousness. These pieces are often separated by large numbers of others belonging perhaps to several other "repertories," attempts to decode which can only be futile given how much obviously changed with each transmission. The preservation of *Age penitentiam* [H31] at the end of the third fascicle of *Ma* rather than the "correct" fourth fascicle is one manifestation of this. Once again, we find that a small source can reveal more about the construction of a large fascicle than *vice versa*: while a group of pieces may be found together twice or three times, there is nothing to say that this does not represent at least two groups which have merged.

Table 7: Concordances for the 2-part pieces in *Ciec QB1*

item	<i>F</i>	<i>W₁</i>	<i>W₂</i>	<i>Ma</i>	Other	Comments
<i>O crux</i>	7,86	9,18	*	4,17	*	
<i>A deserto veniens</i>	*	9,52	*	*	*	Another version in <i>F</i> , 7,48; this version also found in <i>W₁</i> (9,81)
<i>Genitus divinitus</i>	7,24	9,74	*	*	*	
<i>Gloria in excelsis deo, redemptori meo</i>	7,83	9,5	*	4,15	*	
<i>Deduc Syon</i>	7,77	9,68	6,2	4,10	<i>D-Mbs</i> clm. 4660	
<i>Age penitentiam</i>	7,82	9,80	*	3,22	*	
<i>Anni favor iubilei</i>	7,87	*	*	*	*	Call to arms against the Albigensian heresy, 71208

Further evidence of this is provided by the text sources *Ob* Add. A. 44, "The Bekyngton Miscellany" and *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510, one section of a "dismembered" manuscript which R. W. Hunt argues belonged to a monk of Bardney Abbey, Lincolnshire.¹³ Both Hunt and Falck have noted that the scribe of Rawlinson C. 510 (the monk of Bardney) probably took his texts from a book of polyphony, as they occur as if in order by voice-part: texts of two-part music are followed by three-part, and those are then followed by texts of monophonic pieces;¹⁴ however, what Falck does not emphasise is that other non-*conductus* texts are freely interspersed, as they are in *Ob* Add. A. 44, and this already indicates that at least two original groups of items have merged.¹⁵

Interestingly, two of the items not known from the Notre-Dame repertory in *Ob* Add. A. 44, *Frigiscente caritas* [L23a] and *Sol oritur occasum nesciens*, did appear, with music, in the manuscript *Hortus deliciarum* ("Garden of Delights") which was destroyed by fire in 1870. This manuscript was one of the few which testify to the existence of polyphonic music in nunneries. It was by all accounts an encyclopedic work, compiled by Herrad von Landsberg, the abbess of the Augustinian house of St. Odilien at Hohenburg, Alsace, during her time there from 1167-95.¹⁶ There were only a couple of facsimiles of the music among the plates of Engelhardt's *Herrad von Landsberg*, published in 1818, although he does include the texts to over twenty other songs. Vogeleis also mentions that all or nearly all the songs were noted: Handschin, working from Vogeleis's remarks, says that *Sol oritur* is not to be traced in Notre-Dame manuscripts nor anywhere else. Handschin goes on to quote from Walters's remarks in *Cahiers d'archologie et d'histoire d'Alsace* that there were about forty-five songs

13. Richard W. Hunt, "The Collections of a Monk of Bardney: a Dismembered Rawlinson Manuscript," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 28-42.

14. Hunt, "The Collections of a Monk of Bardney;" Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 172.

15. Hunt does describe the other texts, a discussion which Falck does not cite.

16. See Bagnall Yardley, "'Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne': The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages," *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (London: The Macmillan Press, 1986) 19; also Handschin, "Conductus-Spicilegien," 113.

including one more belonging to the *conductus* repertory, though it was not to be found in Notre-Dame manuscripts: *Frigiscente caritas*. Handschin could not thus have known about the non-Notre-Dame texts in *Ob* Add. A. 44. According to the texts transmitted in Engelhardt, no other songs from *Hortus deliciarum* have concordances with *Ob* Add. A. 44. *Hortus* is reputed to have borne the date 1180, and thus is one of the oldest manuscripts to transmit polyphonic Notre-Dame *conducti*. It is safe to say that *Ob* Add. A. 44 must preserve more than one chronological layer of *conducti*, albeit without music: at the very least, the layer with *Hortus* concordances and the layer with the topical pieces from later in the century. The topical contents of *Ob* Add. A. 44 are discussed below.

Ob Wood 591 will obviously produce a much smaller concordance base, given that it transmits just three Notre-Dame *conducti*: *Beate virginis*, *Ista dies* and *Virga Jesse*, and the transmission patterns rather reflect the message of *Llp* 752. *Ista dies* and *Beate virginis* are both found among a repertorial group of nineteen pieces common to the opening of the seventh fascicle of *F* and all but the last three pieces of the third fascicle of *Ma*. These nineteen are found among a total of twenty-seven pieces - numbers thirty-six to sixty two - in the ninth fascicle of *W₁*, being interspersed with other pieces apparently unrelated to this "repertory." Nine of the nineteen are found together in the source *Ob* Auct. Q. 17 + *CH-SO* S. 231.¹⁷ Repertories containing concordances with the *conducti* on *Ob* Wood 591 are shown in Table 8.

As this table shows, *Beate virginis* and *Ista dies* are close in *Ma* and *F*; *Virga Jesse* is not found at all in *Ma* and much further along the fascicle in *F*. In contrast, *Virga Jesse* is found very close to *Ista dies* in *W₁* whereas *Beate virginis* is separated from *Virga Jesse* by twenty-five pieces. These three pieces then bear much the same relation to each other in terms of repertorial grouping as *Ortu regis*, *Pater noster* and *Austro terris*;

17. See Everist, "A Reconstructed Source."

Table 8: Repertories containing concordances with the *conducti* of *Ob* Wood 591:

F-7	Ma-3	W ₁ -9, 36-62	Ob Auct. VI. Q. 3. 17 + CH-SO S. 231
<i>Fraude ceca</i>	<i>Fraude ceca</i>	<i>Condimentum</i>	<i>In rosa</i>
<i>Hec est dies</i>	<i>Puer nobis</i>	<i>Rex et pater</i>	<i>Jam vetus</i>
<i>Deus creator</i>	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	<i>In rosa</i>	<i>Condimentum</i>
<i>Puer nobis</i>	<i>Deus creator</i>	<i>Ortu regis</i>	<i>Puer nobis</i>
<i>Veri vitis</i>	<i>Veri vitis</i>	<i>Fraude ceca</i>	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>
<i>Auctor vite</i>	<i>Gaude virgo</i>	<i>Magnificat anima</i>	<i>Fraude ceca</i>
<i>In rosa vernat</i>	<i>Auctor vite</i>	<i>Deus creator</i>	<i>Ave Maria</i>
<i>Jam vetus</i>	<i>Hec est dies</i>	<i>Hec est dies</i>	<i>Auctor vite</i>
<i>Lene spirat</i>	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	<i>Auctor vite</i>	<i>Relegata vetustate</i>
<i>Ista dies</i>	<i>Condimentum</i>	<i>Veri vitis</i>	<i>Flos de spina</i>
<i>Condimentum</i>	<i>Jam vetus</i>	<i>Gaude virgo</i>	<i>De nature</i>
<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	<i>Resurgente</i>	<i>Beate virginis</i>	<i>Magnificat</i>
<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	<i>Lene spirat</i>	<i>Lene spirat</i>	
<i>Resurgente</i>	<i>Fulget in propatulo</i>	<i>Quod promisit</i>	
<i>Rex eterne</i>	<i>In rosa vernat lilium</i>	<i>De nature</i>	
<i>Gaude virgo</i>	<i>Beate virginis</i>	<i>Fulget in propatulo</i>	
<i>Beate virginis</i>	<i>Ista dies</i>	<i>A deserto</i>	
	<i>Rex eterne</i>	<i>Resurgente</i>	
	<i>Ave Maria</i>	<i>Adiuvans nos</i>	
	<i>O qui fontem</i>	<i>Ave Maria</i>	
	<i>Nulli beneficium</i>	<i>Pater noster commiserans</i>	
	<i>Age penitentiam</i>	<i>Ego reus</i>	
		<i>Rex eterne</i>	
		<i>Scrutator</i>	
		<i>Relegata vetustate</i>	

Beate virginis is even *Ob* Wood 591's "equivalent" to *Austro terris* in that it is widely disseminated, also being found in the Heidelberg fragments (which it must be pointed out also contains *Puer nobis* [H25] and *Ave Maria* [G7]) as well as *Lbl* Add. 22604 and *F-Pn* lat. 18571. Again, the presence of all three of our pieces together in any one group may therefore argue for one branch of transmission where at least two repertories had already merged.

These conclusions do not in themselves argue against the possibility of group presence in some or all of the sources. By their nature, anthologies - and by the time the sources came to be copied they must at least to a degree have constituted anthologies - are mixtures of diverse original collections. It is Falck's decoding of the layers which are riddled with careless argument and inconsistency. Noting that the unique topical monophonic pieces in the tenth fascicle of *F* "show a tendency... towards chronological order," he footnotes the dates of these pieces as 1192, 1189, 1197, 1192, 1233, 1223, 1188; while this does not of course demonstrate consistent chronological order, there is at least a greater degree of chronological order than is revealed when the table of topical pieces is checked against the catalogue: there are eight, not seven compositions, and their dates are 1192, 1186, 1197, 1192, 1236, 1233, 1236 and 1188. On a level more fundamental to the thesis of the study, Falck states that

The basic assumption... is that order within a manuscript or fascicle and the concordance pattern for the same pieces in other manuscripts are both significant unless shown to be otherwise. In other words, of a group of pieces which are similar in style consistently appears together in two or more manuscripts, we can assume that this group of pieces had a common origin both chronologically and geographically.¹⁸

18. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 9.

Later, however, he exposes the flaws in this argument, stating that

... the uncomfortable necessity of assuming that there are older sources for all these repertories must be confronted.¹⁹

It must be emphasised, though, that if the details of Falck's argument are faulty, this does not negate the possibility that repertorial groups exist. This possibility points up both the need for more careful study and, related to this, more work on subgeneric classification of *conductus* fascicles.

§VI,ii: An English conductus repertory?

With these conclusions in mind, it seems timely to evaluate just how convincing Falck's concept of an "English repertory" is. He isolates a group of pieces which he calls the "hypothetical English repertory" from *W₁*, which follow the organal *Benedicamus Domino* trope on folio 96' and precede the troped Agnus dei setting on folio 111'. Within this group are the *conducti* unique to *W₁*: *O quotiens* and *Si quis amat*, as well as the version of *A deserto veniens* found only in *Cjec* QB. 1 and *W₁*. There are also topical pieces: *Eclipsim patitur*, for the death of Geoffrey of Brittany (brother of Richard I) in 1186, and *Redit etas aurea*, for the coronation of Richard I in 1189. Falck says these events took place in England. There are also *In occasu sideris*, for the death of Henry II and the coronation of Richard I, and *Pange melos* [I15], for the death of Frederick Barbarossa in 1190. Falck notes that these pieces are all syllabic, in a similar musical style, and Malyshko too notes a homogeneity of style.²⁰

19. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 102.

20. Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 23; 35.

Everist argues against the term "English repertory" on political rather than musical grounds. He cites several examples to show that the interest of Falck's "English" repertory is no more English than French or Angevin. Geoffrey of Brittany's death, for instance, the result of a riding accident, took place in Paris, not England; further, two French secular songs were written for Geoffrey's death, suggesting an "almost exclusively French" interest. *Redit etas aurea* commemorates the coronation of Richard I, but Everist points out that Richard was not the monarch of England but of the Angevin empire, which in 1189 still contained a sizeable chunk of territory the other side of the channel, although this had decreased almost to nothing even by the time the *conducti* came to be copied. Richard came to England for his coronation and was barely seen here ever again. Even more damning to Falck's concept of an "English repertory" is the fact that although he refers to *Eclypsim patitur* as an English piece,²¹ he actually lists it under "Paris" in his table of topical compositions.²²

Everist's main argument is to show that the subject matter of these pieces reflected events which would have been significant on both sides of the Channel, and that it is not useful to pin them down to England. He calls for a new cultural framework, that of an Angevin musical culture, "out of which it is possible to tease nascent threads of individual national musical traditions." For Falck, where the music was written is not of prime importance, as he contends that "an 'English' repertory need not be confined to pieces actually composed in England."²³ For Everist, an indigenous English *conductus* repertory would consist of works "copied in English manuscripts, composed by English musicians who worked in an English musical and institutional tradition." Falck's argument, then, is that there is evidence of "English" activity in the body of *conducti* known under the catch-all phrase "Notre-Dame," which sometimes manifests itself in

21. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 89-96.

22. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 51.

23. Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 92-94.

the form of topical pieces whose subject matter is what he calls "English," and that there is a body of other, non-topical pieces which are often found with these topical pieces and which may also be "English." Everist contends that the subject matter is not English at all, and therefore it is not valid to isolate a group of pieces and call it an "English repertory." Malyshko's stylistic study includes a brief section on what she more wisely calls the "Plantagenet" *conductus*; her argument is that

the tendencies remarkable in harmonic content and tonal planning of the *conductus* in England do not derive from the French tradition but are specifically English. In this respect, English suspects in the Notre Dame sources and the Plantagenet *conductus*, if not written by English composers, were definitely a response to an insular style.²⁴

However, this statement is open to challenge, as we have seen in §I. Nevertheless, we can potentially isolate three factors in these definitions of the "Plantagenet" or "English" *conductus*: subject matter of the text, style of the music and transmission pattern of the manuscripts.

Everist's "nascent threads of individual national musical traditions" are surely what Falck was trying to "tease out" when he isolated his English *conductus* repertory, even if his method was not as delicate as it could have been. To what extent is "Angevin" useful as an umbrella term? Notre Dame is in Paris; Paris was always in the French royal demesne, never the Angevin Empire, which was in a constant state of flux. Indeed the relationship between the empire and the French royal demesne could be characterised as a body of land which was ruled over by one or other of a group of men constantly vying with each other for supremacy. Being part of the population within the empire would

24. Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 35. Malyshko however fails to demonstrate what is meant by an earlier insular style.

never have defined a common sense of national identity. Legal provincial customs within the Empire were retained as a fundamental principal upon which Henry II insisted: England ruled by English custom, Normandy by Norman, Anjou by Angevin, Poitou by Poitevin, and so on; it is unlikely that other customs, from the everyday to the artistic, were characterised by a sense of common language, but more, that regional differences remained throughout the changes. The cultural differences between those parts of the empire - or the French royal demesne - which were on that side of the Channel would still not have been as marked as those between that side of the Channel and this side of the Channel. John Le Patourel characterises the heart of the empire as Normandy,²⁵ and Gillingham points out that "as far as itinerary was concerned, the Angevin emperors seem to have been kings of England by default and against their will."²⁶ What this means at most, though, is that the monarch was probably more important to England than England was to the monarch. The convolutions of familial, religious and political alliances during the reigns of the later Plantagenets is a vast and complicated subject to which justice can scarcely be done in a few paragraphs, but does need to be summed up here if a point is to be made.²⁷

The marriages of first Geoffrey and Matilda and later Henry and Eleanor certainly proved instrumental as inherent determinants of structure in the Angevin empire, but that it ever achieved the size and might which it did is due less perhaps to those marriages, which provided the potential, than to the relentless expansionism of Henry II, which ensured that he would pursue every territory which he could claim until capitulation. It was apparently clear, however, that he did not see the vast territories, which stretched from Scotland to Gascony, as a single inheritance, but as lands which could be shared among his sons and daughters. Henry and Eleanor of Aquitaine had

25. John Le Patourel, "The Plantagenet Dominions," *History* 50 (1965) 295.

26. John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 52-54.

27. I have drawn particularly on Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, for the following paragraphs.

seven children. Of the daughters, Matilda and Joan were married off without territory, but Eleanor and her husband were to have the duchy of Gascony. Henry the Young King was crowned king of England in 1170, and Richard installed as Duke of Aquitaine in 1172. Geoffrey was assigned Brittany, and John was to have Ireland. Despite the virtue this system had of giving the sons experience of government, it was bound to increase tensions within the dynasty; and when these tensions came to a head, the neighbouring princes who had suffered at Henry's hands were only too glad to take advantage of these family crises. When, in 1173, the revolt of Eleanor and his sons triggered a great war, the kings of France and Scotland and the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois, as well as rebels in Poitou, Normandy and England took arms against him; despite such a menacing coalition, Henry managed to capture Eleanor and hire enough mercenaries to emerge victorious. In 1183, a quarrel arose between Henry II and Richard on one side and Henry the Young King and Geoffrey of Brittany on the other; Henry and Geoffrey found allies in Philip of France, Raymond of Toulouse, and Hugh of Burgundy. Luckily for Henry II, the Young king died suddenly in 1183, which prevented the situation developing into a major war. In a later skirmish of 1189, Henry II and Richard became enemies, and it was Richard who this time joined forces with Philip Augustus of France. Richard emerged victorious, and this time Henry had to promise that all his subjects in England and the Continent would swear an oath of allegiance to Richard as his father's acknowledged heir. Later, the quarrel between John and his nephew Arthur was to play a major role in the debacle of 1202-1204. To Louis VII, the situation must have seemed both ridiculous and frightening: in theory, Henry must do homage to him for the Duchy of Aquitaine, though in practice the French royal demesne had shrunk to a fraction of the size of the Angevin empire. If the combination of Henry and Louis VII worked against France, though, the combination of John and Philip Augustus was to work against the Empire: by 1216, there were scarcely any continental possessions left, and the later Plantagenets could truly be characterised kings of England rather than Angevin emperors. Some historians see the period of Henry III up to the beginnings of the Hundred Years War as one of the few, in a troubled period of five hundred years

beginning before the Norman Conquest, in which the constant antagonism gave way to a prevailing atmosphere which was cosmopolitan, enhanced by personal connections between the ruling families and members of their courts.²⁸

Within England, it is almost impossible to chart changing local allegiances - most particularly during the reign of John. It must be remembered in any case that the constantly-changing political boundaries of "English" possessions in "France" and areas under the rule of the King of France would not by any means have received any *common* type of support in England; most particularly important to note is the amount of support in England for Louis *dauphin's* invasion of the island, particular in London. The following excerpt from the history of William the Marshall for the year 1216 shows how divided the country was during this time:

The barons having collected at London, sent messages to summon Louis, the son of the King of France, whom they intended to make King of England. This was folly. Before Louis arrived, the King besieged Rochester. He spent a great deal of money there before he gained possession of it. He went to Dover by sea... There he called in some Flemings, Knights and Serjeants, who thought only of plunder and were less concerned with helping him in his war than with laying waste his land... Eventually he took Rochester. The Londoners brought in Louis, who for a long time was master of the country. He captured Farnham, Porchester and Southampton. There the ribalds of France drank very many tuns [of wine]. They were boasting foolishly that England was theirs and that the English, having no right to the land, could only evacuate it. These boasts had no

28. See Vale, *The Angevin Legacy*, 2ff.

effect. Later I saw eaten by dogs a hundred of them whom the English slew between Winchester and Romsey. That was how they kept the land... ²⁹

It is also appropriate to set down another example which occurred during John's reign, as it concerns Bury St. Edmunds, the probable home of *Cjec* QB. 1. The death of Abbot Samson of Bury occurred in 1212, during the period of John's excommunication and the resulting interdict under which the whole country was placed. Hugh de Northwold was eventually elected by the monks, most probably as much for his stance against John as for his reputation as being "the flower of the black monks."³⁰ In 1214, he allowed the conjuration of the barons which led to the signing of the *Magna Carta* to take place in Bury; he was careful to be absent, however, and after the lifting of excommunication, he was too much the opportunist not to be seen to make peace, and even went so far as to receive his temporalities from the King. After John's death in 1216, he sided with the Legate, Cardinal Guala, and William the Marshall in support of John's son, Henry III. However, the evidence which suggests that the precious relic of St. Edmund the Martyr's body was not stolen, but was passed, along with the body of Gilbert of Sempringham, to France via the Viscount of Melun,³¹ also presupposes a hard core of "baronial" monks to whom the rightful heir to the English throne was not John's son but Louis *dauphin*; during the excommunication, it is true that the Holy See had avoided underwriting Louis's claim, but it is significant that the larger share of the baronage and burghers of those towns most in contact with the Continent through trading - i.e. London and the South and East coasts - were for Louis, and not John.

29. Douglas, *English Historical Documents*, 81; translated from Meyer, *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 3 vols (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1891-1901) 3: 209-69.

30. Houghton, *Saint Edmund*, 52.

31. Houghton, *Saint Edmund*, 52-56.

Given the problems in evaluating to what extent phenomena can usefully be termed "English," "French" or "Angevin" during this period, the use of the term "Angevin" as a potential umbrella-title for placing some demonstrably non-Parisian compositions (at least in their focus) shifts the emphasis away from Britain and towards other parts of France: in fact it becomes more akin to the concept of Sanders's designation "peripheral" than is comfortable. While historians are accustomed to an Angevin framework, they are also very aware of the strength of provincial custom.

If the usefulness of simplistic politico-geographical labels is in doubt, then to what extent should the evidence of manuscript transmission be added to the questions of origin and destination in adducing a solution? *Novus miles sequitur* [E11] is one of the most overtly political *conducti* which survive. Sanders has associated it with the rebellion against Henry II in 1173 but is less than entirely happy about this date, noting that

there are other occasions that could have prompted the writing of the third stanza, which like the second, exists only in one of the three sources transmitting the conductus. "A new revolt broke out in 1183" in Leicester and "the struggle which broke out between King John and the barons in 1215 again made Leicestershire the scene of conflict."³²

32. Sanders, "Style and Technique" 520; he quotes from *The Victoria History of the County of Leicester*, vol. 2 (1954) 83 and 84. Sanders's reluctance to acknowledge 1173 as the date for *Novus miles sequitur* stems from the fact that "a composition for three voices would be an almost impossibly early occurrence in 1173," going on to suggest the possibility that if the piece *were* written in 1173, the third voice was perhaps a later addition. Stylistically, though, *Novus miles sequitur* is simple: strophic, mainly syllabic except for a *cauda* at the end of each strophe. If we are to accept the date of 1198 for *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*, twenty-five years earlier does not seem too little for something so comparatively elementary. Sanders's inclusion of monophonic pieces in the dating argument is also slightly misleading. As there is no question of there being a chronological factor to be taken into account here - monodies being cultivated contemporaneously with just about every type of music in every age - and monophonic song representing a different tradition from polyphonic - only polyphonic pieces should have been included. None of this, however, alters the fact that *Novus miles sequitur* might not stem from the events of 1173!

Christopher Page's explanation of the text is that "*Legecestrum*" refers not to the place but to the Earl, which makes sense of the exhortation to "Hearken to Leicester." Everist points out that this then places the scene of the action at Gisors in the late summer of 1173 - not in England but in Normandy.³³

This piece does not survive in any insular source, and cannot be designated "English" or "Plantagenet" on stylistic grounds; indeed no-one has ever claimed that it is part of the "English" repertory. Whether this piece is "English," "French" or "Angevin," though, why should it ever have found its way into Spanish manuscripts? Where does a piece like *Divina providentia* [K9] fit in? Everist notes that it spends six stanzas praising William of Longchamp at the time of his regency in the early 1190s while Richard I was away on crusade, but that this hardly reflects English opinion as he was found utterly repulsive and intolerable in this country. He suggests that *Divina providentia* may have been the work of a subversive cleric at the French Royal Court, but Ian Bent is probably nearer the truth in suggesting that as Longchamp

... is known to have maintained minstrels and *cantores rhythmici*, brought over from France by him, who devised epigrams and celebratory songs in praise of his name... since he knew no English, scorned England and its people and precious few friends on this side of the channel, it is highly likely that the *conductus* was composed by a Frenchman among his retinue.³⁴

33. Accompanying booklet from Gothic Voices dir. Christopher Page, *Music for the Lion-Hearted King* (Hyperion Records CDA66336, 1989) 9.

34. Ian Bent, "The early history of the English Chapel Royal," 398. Bent quotes this information from Handschin, "The 'Sumer' Canon," 93, who derives it from Giraldus Cambrensis Complete Works Vol. IV, 355ff.

But why, if *Divina providentia* was written in England, is it only found in a French manuscript?³⁵

Falck's claims lose their credibility above all because he is unable to define exactly what he means by an "English repertory." Indeed, it is even difficult to isolate exactly which part of the ninth fascicle of *W₁* constitutes the "English" collection, since he states that *Gaudeat devotio fidelium*, which occurs within the collection, is not part of it. Elsewhere, he defines the collection as bounded by the tropic *Benedicamus Domino* setting on folio 97 and the tropic *Agnus dei* setting on folio 111.

Malyszko's claims that these "Plantagenet" pieces must at least have been a response to an English style do not take into account the ubiquity of the archaic, or primitive, style, which there is no doubt was a trans-European phenomenon. Similar two-part syllabic pieces are found both as *unica* and with non-English concordances in the St Victor manuscript, for instance, which has no concordances with any insular source, and it would be difficult to say that the style of these simple St. Victor pieces are demonstrably different from the English suspects in *W₁*. They are if anything throwbacks to a more archaic sequence style, which filtered through - and past - newer styles of measured polyphony both in terms of copying and, obviously, performance. Such pieces could have been composed in Paris, and while the texts of the political pieces may suggest that this issue is irrelevant here, it is certainly one which needs to be addressed as a considerably more important issue. Similarly, to define an "English repertory" by its *non-experimental* style is to say the least invidious and patronising: such archaic compositions may ultimately have spawned many types of more experimental styles in many geographical locations; and by the dubious practice of extrapolating backwards from either Notre-Dame or English high style we could arrive at the "primitive" style. In

35. It may be pointed out here that much of *W₁*'s tenth fascicle, containing monophonic Latin song, has been lost; it may well have contained *Divina providentia* and also *Anglia plancus itera*, for the death of Geoffrey of Brittany, both of which are to be found as *unica* in the tenth fascicle of *F*.

effect, as Lefferts has pointed out, since the thirteenth-century three-voice *conductus* (and *rondellus*) was (chronologically) at least the "*functional* successor to a repertoire of two-voice discant settings of sequences of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries [emphasis added],"³⁶ there is little reason to look to "English suspects" in Notre-Dame sources for the *stylistic* predecessor to these genres as style and function are in this case so inextricably bound. What makes these "English suspects" so different from what is accepted as the English repertory is the political stance of the texts, when otherwise, English pieces are most often Marian or at least devotional.

It is these texts themselves, though, that make it plain from which angle - "English" or "French" - they speak. *Anglia, planctus itera* acknowledges that "*Parisius sol patitur / Eclypsim in Britannia*" ("The Parisian sun has suffered an eclipse in Brittany"), but the direction is clear: "*Anglia, planctus itera*" - "England, repeat your lamentations [emphasis added]." *In occasu sideris*, for the death of Henry II, describes an England "doubling a sadness beyond all others; A widow without your Prince... (*Anglia, pre ceteris / Geminans dolorem / Viduata principe...*). Although *Redit etas aurea* rejoices in a new king for Poitou, Normandy, Gascony, Scotland, Brittany and Wales, England is mentioned first, and indeed has a verse all of her own:

36. Lefferts, "Cantilena and Antiphon: Music for Marian Services in Late Medieval England," *Studies in Medieval Music: Festschrift for Ernest H. Sanders* ed. Peter Lefferts and Brian Seirup, *Current Musicology* 45-47 (n. d. [1990]), 249.

Example 11: *Redit etas aurea* (text and translation)

<i>Qui est potens, humilis,</i>	He who is powerful, humble
<i>Dives et maturus</i>	great and mature in years
<i>Estate sed dolcilis</i>	yet sweet in temper
<i>Et rerum securus</i>	and firm in all his dealings
<i>Suarum, preficitur</i>	is set in command
<i>Anglie, daturus</i>	over England, being about to
<i>Rapinis interitum</i>	make an end of plunder
<i>Clero iuris aditum</i>	a clear path of justice for
<i>Locum veritati,</i>	the clergy, and a place for truth.
<i>Gaudeat Pictavia,</i>	Let Poitou rejoice,
<i>Iam rege ditata</i>	now enriched with a king;
<i>Tumescat Normannia</i>	let Normandy swell with pride
<i>Auro coronata.</i>	crowned with gold.
<i>Vasco, Scotus, Britones</i>	The Gascon, Scot and Bretons
<i>Obtinent optata</i>	gain their dearest wishes;
<i>Sine dolo Cambria</i>	Wales and Scotland
<i>Servit et Hibernia</i>	guard our regal power
<i>Nostre potestati.</i>	without guile.

(Text and translation from Page, *Music for the Lion-Hearted King*.)

It would be difficult to argue for a French slant here - geographically or politically. These texts can only have been written with an English audience in mind.

The manuscript *Cjec QB. 1* contains two topical pieces: *Crucifigat omnes*, a call to the third crusade,³⁷ and *Anni favor iubilei*. Some of the history of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds has been cited above. Given that this institution was scarcely a harbour for Angevin sympathisers, it is entirely unsurprising that *Anni favor iubilei* is not an Angevin concern but a decidedly North French one: the crusade against the Albigensian heresy which took place between 1209 and 1229. The Albigenses, or Cathars, had already had a long history behind them by this time. They sought and gained converts from the Roman Church, and their following began to grow in the south of France at a rate which must have seemed alarming to the Pope. Eventually he appealed to the Cistercians to crusade against the heresy, and the cause was taken up by Northern

37. The third rather than the fifth; see Sanders, "Style and Technique," 513-516.

French knights who were perhaps interested more in gaining land than spiritual benefits; the crusade turned into a series of brutal massacres, disrupting the brilliance of Provençal civilization and ending with a treaty which destroyed the independence of the southern princes.³⁸ The text is a call to repentance, and the third strophe overtly orders men to

Crucis vexillum erige
et Albigeos abige

(Raise up the standard of the cross
And drive out the Albigenses).³⁹

In its way, a stance in support of the Albigensian Crusade was anti-John. The crusaders arrived on Gascony's eastern frontier in 1212; they were led by Simon de Montfort, whose attacks on the lands of John's brother-in-law Raymond VI of Toulouse were not deterred by John's paltry attempts to help. These pieces are typically Burian, then, in their pro-French interest. It would only need the presence of *De rupta rupecula* [F25] to complete the picture: a *conductus* which celebrates the defeat of the English in the battle of La Rochelle (1224-5), and which together with the loss of most of Poitou, effectively marked the end of the Angevin Empire.⁴⁰

Lastly, we might pause to consider whether any significance can be attached to the topical song-texts transmitted by *Ob* Add. A. 44. This source was mentioned above, in connection with *Hortus deliciarum*. As well as the early pieces, it must transmit a considerably later layer of *conducti* than *Hortus*, dated 1180, as there is a lament for the

38. Martin Scott, *Medieval Europe*, (London: Longman Group, 1964) 212-215

39. Text and translation from Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, V: XVII.

40. See Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 82; Vale, *The Angevin legacy*, 13; R. C. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III*, 1216-45 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

deaths of Henry of Troyes, count of Champagne and his mother; they died in 1197 and 1198 respectively.⁴¹ Other datable pieces are *Ver pacis aperit* [J32], for the coronation of Philip Augustus in 1179 and *Omnis in lacrimas* [K2], for the death in 1187 of Henry "the liberal," Count of Champagne (father of the above Henry). If there is a significant theme to these "topics" it is not immediately apparent. Henry of Troyes, Count of Champagne, made his mark not in France but in Outremer. His mother was the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine by Eleanor's French marriage to Louis VII, and therefore half-sister to Richard I; thus, Henry was nephew to both Richard and Philip Augustus through Louis's third marriage to Adela of Champagne. He arrived at Acre in the summer of 1190, where he was at once given a special position as representative and forerunner to his uncles, also taking charge of the actual siege operations. The Third Crusade wended its desultory way forward; by 1192, a treaty between Saladin and Richard was eventually signed, and Holy War - for the time being - over. Richard wanted to return to his troubled kingdom at home and leave the Holy land in good hands. When Conrad, only just recognised as King of Jerusalem, was stabbed to death, Henry of Champagne was acclaimed by the people of Tyre as the man who should marry Conrad's only-just-widowed wife, Isabella, and thus inherit the throne of Jerusalem. In the meantime, Saladin, though not defeated, was weary from the constant fighting over the Holy Land, and died early in 1193. The lack of a permanent institution for the handing down of power resulted in family squabbling and intrigue after his death, and Henry was able to restore some order in the nascent Frankish kingdom. In fact he was never crowned king, for reasons which cannot now be explained. For the next few years, he dealt with reasonable success with the troubles in Cyprus, the troublesome Church and his rival Guy de Lusignan, who had wanted the throne of

41. The other "topical" pieces cannot be securely dated. *Non te lussise pudeat* is subtitled "*Documenta clericorum Stephani de Lanketon*" in this source, and the poem is really a compendium of wisdom and advice for those entering the Church. Stephen Langton acquired his infamy during the reign of King John, so if it is really by him, it would date from these years. *Nulli beneficium* has been suggested as a searing indictment of Geoffrey of Brittany and his time as Bishop of Lincoln, 1175-82. *Dum medium silentium*, whose text has been shown to have been extrapolated from Gaultier de Châtillon's *In domino confido*, would have been written in about 1174 (see Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 198).

Jerusalem for himself; in 1197, however, there were renewed German hopes of a successful Crusade, partly no doubt because the death of Frederick Barbarossa had rendered their contribution to the Third Crusade so ineffective. They arrived at Acre and at once began a march on the Moslem territory at Galilee. Henry did not welcome the invasion, but gathered together what troops he could spare for reinforcements. On September 10th, 1197, he reviewed his men from an upper gallery overlooking the palace courtyard. At that moment, envoys arrived; Henry turned to greet them, then, forgetting where he was, stepped backward through the open window. His little dwarf, Scarlet, grabbed at him, but both went hurtling to their deaths below.⁴²

The death of Henry's father, ("Henry the Liberal"), is commemorated in the *conductus Omnis in lacrimas*. Henry's career was on the whole less distinguished than that of his son. He accompanied his father-in-law Louis VII to the Holy Land in 1147, but returned to France after the Siege of Damascus. In 1162, on the instructions of Frederick Barbarossa, he tried to arrange a conciliatory meeting between the Pope, Alexander III, who had been recognised by the Council of Beauvais, and the Antipope Victor IV, recognised by the Council of Pavia. After much negotiation, the reconciliation failed to take place; Henry considered himself personally responsible and gave himself up to Frederick Barbarossa, who freed him against some lands in Champagne. Crossing again in 1178 to the Holy Land, he fell during an attack and was taken prisoner, but was freed on the orders of the Greek Emperor and made his way home. He died shortly after his arrival in Troyes in 1181.⁴³

The Albigensian crusade lay within a relatively immediate interest for Bury Abbey - as opposed to laments for the deaths of Angevin Dukes: but what interest did the

42. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. 3: *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) 82-94.

43. Prevost, *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1989) 17:943-44.

coronation of Philip Augustus and the deaths of Counts of Champagne hold for the house from which *Ob Add. A. 44* originated? To the complexity of struggles in the dynastic in-fighting between the Plantagenets must be added a complicating factor. While constantly keeping one eye on each other and on their kingdoms at home, Philip Augustus and Richard were allies in the fight for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Infidel. Even though Frederick Barbarossa met his death in the River Calycadnus before ever reaching the Holy Land, there is no doubt that he is linked into the story of Outremer. It must be remembered that there had been a lapse in time of more than fifty years between the occurrences of the events depicted in the topical *conducti* and the copying thereof. By then, the miserable failures of the Fourth and Fifth Crusades had occurred; how little had actually been achieved by the Third, and how much the operation had cost might well have been forgotten in the light of its relative glories. The passage of time must have rendered the events of the end of the twelfth century only dimly-remembered happenings that had been stripped of the immediacy of political meaning and taken on the patina of sagas, whose poetry, or music, as well as political message, were what spoke to the younger generations who copied them. The extent to which such messages could change with the passage of time, finding new resonances in new situations, would form a topic of study in itself.

Manuscript transmission, archaism of style, geographical placement and political labels are dangerous grounds on which to base decisions about these repertories, and it is next to useless to argue that a collection of pieces which is found in two or more English manuscripts is therefore likely to be English on the basis of manuscript transmission alone;⁴⁴ this must be allowed, if we are also to argue that the transmission of pieces in more than one French manuscripts necessarily means that those pieces must be French. It would also seem that concordances, when taken alone, are equally precarious factors to use as evidence on which to base assumptions about any sort of repertorial grouping.

44. See Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*, 96.

Let us state again that isolating an insular style for that later period has only been possible on the basis of manuscript survival and concordance patterns. It would be dangerous to assume that these *conducti* are French until proved otherwise. Only the accidents of manuscript survival have led to the conclusion that the divisions in style between French and English music at the turn of the thirteenth century compared with the turn of the fourteenth had become much more clear-cut. No written Notre-Dame compositions survive from the vital fifty years from 1170 to 1230, either from Britain or France. This throws the entire period, which must have seen the most considerable artistic ferment, into complete obscurity. Malyshko too writes that "the lack of earlier independent English activity suggests that the French repertory played a significant role in the development of the genre in England":⁴⁵ another assertion which completely ignores the immense importance of the time-gap between composing and copying activities. We must once again challenge the indiscriminate use of the term "Notre-Dame" *conductus*, which has included much of the repertory of freely-composed monophonic and polyphonic song found in places as far apart as Madrid and St. Andrews. There is a vital first step to be taken in order to provide a neutral start for work on the subgeneric structure of the *conductus*: that is, the provision of a different catch-all term disassociating *conducti* from any necessary involvement with a certain Parisian Cathedral on the Ile de la Cité.

45. Malyshko, "The English Conductus Repertory," 23.

CONCLUSION

By its nature, a contemplation of relationships must hold back from unequivocal statements of conclusion. The tenet that this cannot be otherwise stems from the simple observation that only very little can be understood of activity in an area on its own terms if it is consistently misunderstood by reference to another. In this case, it has been the music current in thirteenth-century Britain which has been misrepresented in the secondary literature by inevitable and constant juxtaposition to the products of the so-called "Notre-Dame school." When we question some long-held beliefs about the "Notre-Dame school" and then look at the insular material which survives from this period, threads of indigenous activity can be seen on their own terms.

In attempting to elucidate the notion of "Englishness" Rodney Thomson suggests four criteria for measuring the "importance" of intellectual and cultural achievement: whether it can be said to have gained "European" recognition; the question of its centrality to European intellectual and cultural experience; its influence in the longer term; and the innate intellectual or aesthetic stature of the achievement itself, whether or not particularly influential at the time.¹ If we try to use these as guidelines for looking at the "achievement" of English polyphony, there are difficulties. For the earlier thirteenth century, it is impossible to separate the geographical strands of European *conducti* transmitted in the "Notre-Dame" sources into layers. If some of these *conducti* are "English," then there can be no question that they achieved wide European recognition. The issue of centrality and influence takes us into the sphere of stylistic analysis, again hampered by the impossibility of decoding layers of *conducti*. We can however, say that for the later thirteenth century, the accomplished nature and stylistic individuality of insular polyphony are measures of artistic achievement.

1. Thomson, "England and the Twelfth-century Renaissance," 9.

Insular composers did not respond to the infiltration of Notre-Dame polyphony by copying the compositional processes which they must have been able to observe. They preferred to continue composing *conducti*, with the freedom which that implied, or composing motets on a *pes*, to developing pre-existent material into motets. Even when pre-existent material did form the basis for new compositions, they preferred to expand entire chants rather than sections. With the exception of the St. Andrews *organa* and a few *conducti* from French-influenced sources (*W₁*, *Cjec* QB. 1), there is no evidence that insular composers were particularly interested in these foreign forms. The idea that they took a set of ideas and "pushed them to the limit," as Frank Harrison stated, is less true of the insular repertory than it is of the French motet - even if the idea of linear development from *clausula* to motet is open to question.²

In Chapter One, we examined interactions between Britain and France, with particular emphasis on the *conductus* in England. Manners of presentation, or the relationship between paleography and copied music, formed the subject of Chapter Two. In the third chapter, we re-examined some issues about provenance. Questions raised in trying to construct a chronology and a morphogenesis of insular notation is at the heart of Chapter Four. The fifth chapter focuses on the radically different copying traditions which surviving insular polyphony evinces from those of France. Finally, Chapter Six critiques recent attempts to isolate an English repertory from the body of compositions we have come to call "Notre-Dame" *conducti*.

The central argument of this study is that it is clear from the contents, the notation and the copying of the manuscripts themselves, that insular activity cannot have been a simple response to a "Notre-Dame style." The writings of Aelred of Rievaulx and John of Salisbury may bear testimony to insular traditions of high polyphonic art. Crucial to the challenge has been to question exactly what is meant by the term "Notre-Dame polyphony," and ultimately to conclude that the present understanding of it falls very

2. The relationship(s) between *clausulae* and motets is a vastly complex subject which does not fall within the boundaries of this study. Mark Everist's forthcoming *The Vernacular Motet in Thirteenth-Century France* (Cambridge University Press) deals with detailed and larger questions relating to motets and *clausulae*.

wide either side of the mark. It remains outside the scope of this study to redefine the term conclusively, but we can at least no longer be content to allow such a spurious concept to be represented by the entire contents of *F*.

We have to a large extent focussed on the sources themselves in this study. While some attempt has been made to define broad geographical traditions, the sources do, on the whole, transmit music which had already achieved classic status. It is fruitless to deny the problems which this in itself presents. We are in the main looking at reception, not conception; other than by teleological argument, we cannot reach back and extrapolate the ways in which repertory reached those sources.

The most welcome new evidence about music in thirteenth-century Britain is the secure mid-century dating of the Reading source *Ob* Lat. liturg. b. 19. The possibility of establishing that unique traditions of repertory or notation must have been in place by a terminal date will ultimately best show up interactions with another established repertory; from this point of view, the earlier an insular source can be brought to the turn of the thirteenth century and the supposed "Age of Notre Dame," the better. In this respect, new discoveries can only support, rather than undermine, the speculations presented in this study.

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY INSULAR SOURCES OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC

*: an isolated part only

i: concordance(s) with insular source(s); see Table 1 or Catalogue

c: concordance(s) with continental source(s); see Table 2

ABu 2379/1

1.	A	<i>Alleluia [V. Justus germinabū]^c</i>	Notre Dame organum	22
2.	A	<i>Kyrie Rex virginum amator</i>	troped Kyrie setting	139
3.	B	<i>[Te]nor</i>	*motet	269

Ccc 8:

1.	270	<i>... in hyde joye and blisce</i>	song in English	127
2.	270	<i>Worldes blisce have god day-[Tenor]</i>	motet in English	293
3.	270'	<i>Volez oyer le castoy-Primus [Tenor]</i>	motet in Anglo-Norman	292
4.	270'	<i>A nobis</i>	clausula	3
5.	270'	<i>Ne dampnemur</i>	clausula	159
6.	270	<i>Fecit do</i>	clausula	98
7.	270	<i>... suavitas</i>	clausula	265

Ccl

1.	1	<i>O paraclite regens</i>	tropic Kyrie motet	185
2.	1'	<i>Lux et gloria regis celiciⁱ</i>	tropic Kyrie motet	144

Cgc 803/807

1.	1	<i>Mundum salvificans</i>	troped Agnus setting	156
2.	1	<i>O felix mortale</i>	troped Agnus setting	172
3.	1'	<i>Rex eterne glorie</i>	troped Agnus setting	221

Cgc 820/810

		<i>Equitas in curia</i>	v/e conductus-motet	92
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Cjec QB. 1

1.	2	<i>Ave maris stella V. Hodie Maria virgo</i>	troped Alleluia setting	46
2.	2	<i>A laudanda legione V. Ave Maria</i>	troped Alleluia setting	2
3.	1a	<i>Procruans odium^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	205
4.	1a	<i>Si mundus viveret^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	254
5.	1a'	<i>Fas et nephas ambulanti^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	97
6.	1a'	<i>Leniter ex merito^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	140
7.	1b	<i>Fulget Nicholaus^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	106
8.	1c	<i>Premii dilatio^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	201
9.	1c	<i>Crucifigat omnes^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	75
10.	A	<i>O crux ave spes unica^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	168
11.	B	<i>A deserto veniensⁱ</i>	Notre Dame conductus	1
12.	B'	<i>Genitus divinitus^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	111
13.	C	<i>Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori meo^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	112
14.	D'	<i>Deduc Syon^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	85
15.	F	<i>Age penitentiam^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	7
16.	F'	<i>Anni favor iubile^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	37
17.	H	<i>Novi sideris lumen resplenduit</i>	conductus in Notre-Dame style	166

Cjec QB. 5

1.	138	<i>...et dilectio</i>	*?motet	94
2.	138	<i>[T.?] O manet lux</i>	*motet	176
3.	138'	<i>... a quo fecundata-...archangelorum</i>	**motet	4
4.	138v	<i>... gratie-Tenor d[e]...</i>	**motet	119
5.	138'	<i>Tenor...gina</i>	*motet	271
6.	139	<i>...nobi...ctoris</i>	*?motet	161
7.	139	<i>S[alve Symonius]-Tenor de Salve Symonus</i>	**v/e motet	227
8.	139'	<i>...ria miseru-Tenor</i>	**motet	224

Csj 138 (F. 1)

1.	127	<i>[T. Benedicamus domino]</i>	*motet	269
2.	127/128'	<i>En averil al tens jolifs [no music]-O christi clementie-[Tenor]</i>	motet	91
3.	127/128	<i>O sancte Bartholomee-O sancte Bartholomee-O Bartholomee</i>	motet	189
4.	128	<i>Miles Christi-Plorate cives anglie-[T. missing]</i>	motet	150

Ctc 0. 2. 1.

1.	I	...lix vita-[...lix vita]-[Tenor]	motet	142
2.	I	... David arreptus-[... David arreptus]-[Tenor]	motet	78
3.	I'	Regina clementie-[Regina clementie]-[T. missing]	motet	217
4.	II	...virtutum spolia-[...virtutum spolia]-[Tenor]	motet	291
5.	II	Stilla mellis vellus rosiflorum-[Stilla mellis vellus rosiflorum]-[Tenor]	motet	263
6.	229	O Maria singularis-[O Maria singularis]-[Tenor]	motet	177
7.	229'	Salve sancta parens christis mater	?troped Introit setting	237
8.	230	[In veritate comperi]-[In veritate comperi]-T. [Veritatem] ^c	motet	130
9.	230'	Virgo decus castitatis-Virgo decus castitatis-Alleluia ^c	motet	284
10.	230'	Agmina militie-Agmina militie-[T. Agmina] ^c	motet	8

Cu Ff. 2. 29

1.	i	Alleluia V. Dies sanctificatus ^c	Notre Dame organum	20
2.	ii	[Sanctus Sanctorum exultatio]	troped Sanctus setting	248
3.	ii'	Sancte ingenite genitor	troped Sanctus setting	240

CAC Add. 128/8

1.	1	Alleluia Salve virgo	Alleluia setting	18
2.	1'	Alleluia Ave rosa generosa	Alleluia setting	10

CAC Add. 128/62

1	Virgo que fructifero- T. Virgo dei genitrix	troped Gradual setting	286
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DRu Sel. 13

1.	1	Quem trina polluit ⁱ	English rondellus-conductus	213
2.	1'	Tu capud ecclesie-Tu es Petrus-T. [In veritate]	motet	277

Lbl Cotton Frag. XXIX

1.	36	Salve mater gratie-[Dou way Robin] ⁱ	motet	230
2.	36'	Angelus ad virginem subintrans ^c	song in English	36

Lbl Harley 978

(1.	2	Samson dux fortissime)	monody	
(2.	4'	Regina clemencie)	monody	
(3.	5'	Primum fuit gaudium)	monody	
(4.	6	Dum Maria credidit fide)	monody	
(5.	7	Ave gloriosa virginum regina)	monody	
6.	8'	[first instrumental piece]	instrumental piece	
7.	9	[second instrumental piece]	instrumental piece	
8.	9	[third instrumental piece]	instrumental piece	
9.	9'	Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris/Duce creature virgine Marie-[T. Domino] ^c	motet	42
10.	10'	Felix sanctorum chorus)	monody	
11.	11'	Sumer is icumen in/Perspice Christicola	rola over a v/e pes	266
(12.	12	Eterni numinis)	monody	
(13.	13	Ante thronum regentis)	monody	
(14.	13'	Gaude salutata)	monody	
14		[mnemonic solmization melodies]		

Lbl Harley 3132:

[extremely fragmentary]	motet
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Lbl Harley 5958

f. 22:

1.	recto	Nobili precinitur-Flos de virga-T. Proles Marie ^c	motet	162
2.	verso	...mpendia-O homo de pulvere-[T. In seculum]	motet	154

f. 32+65

3.	recto	Benedicamus domino	Benedicamus Domino setting	63
4.	recto	Bis in cuius	*	67
5.	verso	...nobilis filium-Beata viscera	motet	163
5				
6.	verso	[T.] Benedicta	*	64
7.	verso	[T.] B...	*	55

Lp 752

1.	51	<i>Austro terris influente^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	40
2.	51	<i>Hec est rosa [estr. 2 of Ortu regis evanescit]^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	122
3.	51'	<i>Pater noster qui es in celis^c</i>	Notre Dame conductus	196
4.	51'	<i>Cristus natus de Maria</i>	conductus	74
5.	51	<i>Barabas dimittitur</i>	conductus	56

Lwa 33327

1.	1	<i>...fermo cum timore-...per te fides-Spirans odor-Tenor. Kyrie</i>	cantus firmus motet	100
2.	1	<i>O nobilis nativitas-O mira Dei-O decus virginem-Tenor. Apparuit</i>	cantus firmus motet	184
3.	1'	<i>O mors moreris-O vita vera-Quartus cantus-Tenor. Mors</i>	cantus firmus motet	183
4.	2	<i>Pro beati Pauli-O pastor-O preclara-Tenor. Pro patribusⁱ</i>	cantus firmus motet	203
5.	2	<i>[Domine celestis]-Dona celi factor-Quartus cantus-Tenor. Doce</i>	cantus firmus motet	86
6.	2	<i>Opem nobis-Salve Thoma-Quartus cantus-Tenor. Pastor cesus</i>	cantus firmus motet	193
7.	2'	<i>Ave miles de cuius-Ave miles O Edwarde-Quartus cantus-Tenor. Ablue</i>	cantus firmus motet	47
8.	2'	<i>Psallat chorus in novo-Eximie pater-Tenor. Aptatur^c</i>	cantus firmus motet	208

Lwa Box 3, item 1

<i>Spiritus et abne orphanorumⁱ</i>	troped Gloria setting	259
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Ob Bodley 257

1.	1b	<i>[Ave] substantie biformis</i>	English conductus	51
2.	1b'	<i>[In te concipitur ma]tris et virginis</i>	English conductus	129
3.	195b	<i>...semper pia vocis</i>	English conductus	251
4.	195b	<i>Ave credens baiulo</i>	v/e English conductus	41
5.	195b'	<i>...tuum natum nos iuvare</i>	English conductus	278
6.	195b'	<i>Gaude per quam gaudium</i>	English conductus	109

Ob Mus. c. 60

1.	79	<i>Salve sancta parens virgo-Salve sancta parens enixaⁱ</i>	troped Introit setting	238
2.	79'	<i>...hac die nobili-[-]-[T.] Gaudeamus omnes</i>	troped Introit setting	121
3.	80	<i>O Judea et Jerusalem V. Constantes</i>	troped Responsory setting	173
4.	80'	<i>...e hausit lugens</i>	troped Kyrie setting	89
5.	81a	<i>Gloria militie</i>	conductus	115
6.	81b'	<i>...ha mundi gloria Maria</i>	rondellus*	120
7.	81a'	<i>Sine macula profert</i>	rondellus*	255
8.	82	<i>[Kyrie fons pietatis]-Kyrie pater venerande-Tenorⁱ</i>	troped Kyrie setting	137
9.	82'	<i>[Et in terra pax voluntatis</i>	Gloria setting	95
10.	83'	<i>Rex omnium lucifluum</i>	troped Gloria setting**	223
11.	84'	<i>Spiritus et abne orphanorum</i>	troped Gloria setting	258
12.	85'	<i>Campanis cum cymbalis-Onoremus dominam-Campanis-Onoremus</i>	motet on a pes (2+2)	68
13.	85'	<i>Quatuor ex partibus</i>	*	211
14.	104	<i>de virgo semper-O spes salus-[Tenor]</i>	motet	82

Ob Rawlinson C. 400* + Lat. liturg. b. 19

(A) booklet (texts only):

H	<i>(Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluia (V. Post partum virgo)^{ic}</i>	troped Alleluia setting	(44)
J	<i>Alleluia Ave Maria ave Mater (V. Nativitas)</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	
K	<i>V. In conspectu</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	
L	<i>Alleluia dulci cum armonia (V. Fit Leo fit Leonardus)</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	
M	<i>Alleluia musica canamus V. Hic Franciscus</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	
N	<i>V. Fulget dies</i>	troped Alleluia setting	

(B) 1st roll, recto:

1.	<i>Alleluia Christo jubilemus V. Dies sanctificatus</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	13
2.	<i>Alleluia Clare decet V. P[ost partum?]</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	14
3.	<i>Adoremus ergo natum V. Vidimus stellam</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	6
4.	<i>Ave sanctitatis speculum</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	50

1st roll, verso:

5.	<i>Ave Maria gratia plena V. Assumpta est</i>	rondellus troped Alleluia setting	43
6.	<i>?Alleluia V. Post partum</i>	troped Alleluia setting*	26

(C) 2nd roll:

7.	<i>Mirabilis deus-Ave Maria-Ave Maria</i>	cantus firmus motet	151
8.	<i>Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus</i>	troped Responsory setting	81

Ob Savile 25

1.	1	...humilis hoc tua per viscera	**	123
2.	1	Virgo stillicidio fecunda-Virgo	motet	289
3.	1'	...salvatoris-[Tenor]	motet	226
4.	1'	[illegible motetus and triplum]	motet	

Ob Wood 591

1.	1'	Salve mater misericordie ⁱ	English rondellus-conductus	231
2.	1	Salve rosa venustatis	English conductus	236
3.	2'	O laudanda virginitas	English rondellus-conductus	175
4.	2	O benigna preces audi	English conductus	167
5.	4'	Beate virginis ^c	Notre Dame conductus	60
6.	4	Ista dies celebrari ^c	Notre Dame conductus	135
7.	3	Virga Jesse regio ^c	Notre Dame conductus	282

Occ 489/9

1.	1	Flos regalis virginalis	English rondellus-conductus	101
2.	1'	Salve mater misericordie ⁱ	English rondellus-conductus	231
3.	2	Integra inviolata	English rondellus-conductus	132
4.	2'	Virgo rosa flos radicis	English conductus	288

Occ 497:

1.	2	... Marie eleyson	troped Kyrie setting	145
2.	2	K[yr]ie rex Marie proles pie	rondellus troped Kyrie setting	138
3.	2'	Porta salutis Maria	English conductus	199
4.	3'	Memor esto tuorum	English conductus	148
5.	3'	In odoris miro suavio-In odore fragrant dulcedinis-T. [In odorem] ^c	motet	128
6.	4	Ave Maria gratia plena	English conductus	45
7.	4'	Quis tibi Christe meritis ^c	conductus	215
8.	5'	Transit nature semitas	English conductus	275
9.	5'	O Maria stella maris-Ihesu fili summi patris-[Tenor]	motet on a pes	179
10.	6	O Maria stella maris	conductus motet?	178
11.	7	Ihesu fili summi patris	conductus motet?	125
12.	7'	Gloriosa dei mater	motet	117
13.	7'	[Gaude] mata Gabriele	*	108

Omec 248

1.	A	...induit-T.	motet	131
2.	A'	... Karitas	?rondellus-conductus	136

Owc 213* (olim 3. 16 (A)*)

1.	1	Ave virga decoris	English rondellus-conductus	53
2.	1'	Ave tuos benedic ^c	?English conductus	52
3.	2	Ave salus hominum	English conductus	49
4.	2'	Ave regina celorum ave decus	English conductus	48

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XII

1.	1	Ut recreatur-[-]-[-]-Secundus Tenor	cantus firmus motet	278
2.	1'	Inter choras-Invisis pueris	cantus firmus motet	133
3.	1'	Regnum sine termino-Regnum tuum	cantus firmus motet	220

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XVIII

1.	1	Benedicta V. Virgo dei genitrix	troped Gradual setting	66
2.	1'	Alleluya V. Nativitas	Alleluya setting	24

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XX

1.	1	In excelsis gloria ⁱ	rondellus-conductus	126
2.	1'	Gaudeat ecclesia	conductus	110
3.	2	Super te-Sed fulsit-Primus tenor [Dominus]-Secundus tenor ^c	cantus firmus motet (2+2)	267
4.	2'	Crucifixum dominum-[-]-[Tenor Crucifixum in carne]	troped Antiphon verse	76

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX

1.	1	Singularis et insignis	conductus	256
2.	1'	Sponsa rectoris	conductus	261
3.	2	O sponsa dei electa	conductus	190
4.	2'	All. V. Virga florem	Alleluya setting	30
5.		O Maria virgo pia	conductus	181

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX

1.	a1	<i>De spineto</i>	<i>conductus</i>	80
2.	a2	<i>Salve porta solatium</i>	<i>sequence</i>	234
3.	a2'	<i>...precibus sepius</i>	<i>conductus</i>	200
4.	b'	<i>Ergo virgo</i>	<i>sequence</i>	93
5.	c	<i>Paranymphus salutat</i>	<i>sequence</i>	195

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXIV

1.	1	isolated part with hardly any text	-	*
2.	1'	isolated part with no text	-	*

D-Gs Theol. 220g

1.	2	<i>...no funere</i>	<i>*motet</i>	164
2.	2	<i>A superna paranymphus</i>	<i>*motet</i>	5
3.	2'	<i>...batio o gravis-[.]-[T.]...pem</i>	<i>motet</i>	58
4.	1	<i>[O mores perdutos...]-[.]-[T.]</i>	<i>motet</i>	182
5.	1'	<i>Senator regis curie-Pes-üi</i>	<i>motet on a pes</i>	252

US-Cu 654 App.

1.	1	<i>Creatoris gratia-[.]-[T. Agmina]</i>	<i>motet</i>	73
2.	1	<i>O Maria vas mundiie-[.]-[T. Agmina]</i>	<i>motet</i>	180
3.	1	<i>Dona celi factor-[.]-[T]</i>	<i>motet</i>	87
4.	1'	<i>In excelsis gloriaⁱ</i>	<i>rondellus-conductus</i>	126
5.	2	<i>Spiritus et alme orphanorum-Gaude virgo salutata-Gabrieleⁱ</i>	<i>motet</i>	259
6.	2'	<i>Stella maris nuncuparis</i>	<i>rondellus-conductus</i>	262
7.	3	<i>Patris superni gratia</i>	<i>v/e motet</i>	197
8.	3'	<i>Orbis pium primordium-Orbis pium primordium-O bipartitum</i>	<i>rondellus-motet</i>	194
9.	4	<i>Barbara simplex animo-Barbara simplex animo-Tenor</i>	<i>motet</i>	57
10.	4'	<i>Christi cara mater ave-Christi cara mater ave-[T missing]</i>	<i>rondellus-motet</i>	71

US-PRu Garrett 119

Fragment A:

1.	I	<i>Regis aula regentisⁱ</i>	<i>rondellus-conductus</i>	219
2.	I	<i>Tota pulchra es-Anima mea liquefacta-[Pes]</i>	<i>v/e motet</i>	274
3.	I	<i>[Alleluya celica rüe]-Alleluya celica rüe-[Pes]</i>	<i>v/e motet</i>	12
4.	II	<i>Thomas gemma-Thomas cesus-[tenor]-[Secundus tenor]ⁱ</i>	<i>v/e motet (2+2)</i>	272
5.	II	<i>[S]i ligua lota-[M]ors amar... [T. missing]</i>	<i>motet</i>	253

Fragment B:

1.	I	<i>[Salve mater gratie]-Dou way Robinⁱ</i>	<i>motet</i>	230
2.	II	<i>...scit ortu solis...libate floruit-[Tenor]</i>	<i>motet</i>	250

Fragment C:

"upper parts of motets" (Levy)

Worcester "Reconstruction I": (columns: number; folio in *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20; medieval foliation)

WOc Add. 68, Fragment X

1.	1	vi	<i>Christe lux mundi</i>	troped Kyrie setting*	70
2.	1'	vi'	<i>...anges-Lux et gloria-Kyrieleysonⁱ</i>	troped Kyrie setting	144
3.	2'	vii'	<i>Benedicta domina</i>	troped Gradual setting	65

Lbl Add. 25031

4.	1/4'	xiii	<i>Felix namque Maria-Felix namque es</i>	troped Offertory setting	99
5.	1'	xiii	<i>De supernis sedibus</i>	rondellus-conductus	81
6.	2'	xiv'	<i>Proles eterne-Psalat mater-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	207
7.	3'	xv	<i>Quem non caput...ni genitrix-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	212
8.	4'	xvi'	<i>...natum quo salvantur</i>	*	158

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXI

9.	7	[bxxiii]	<i>Salve sancta parens virgo-Salve sancta parens enixaⁱ</i>	troped Introit setting	238
10.	7'	bxxiii'	<i>O quam glorifica-O quam beata-O quam felix-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes	186

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII

11.	8	bxxiii	<i>Senator regis curie-Primus pes-Secundus Pesⁱ</i>	motet on a pes	252
12.	8'	bxxiii'	<i>Virgo regalis fidei-[Virgo regalis fidei]-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes?	287
13.	8'	bxxiii'	<i>O venie vena-[.-]-Illumina morti</i>	motet on a pes with rondellus	191
14.	9	bxxvi	<i>Virgo parit-[Virgo dei] genitrix-Quem</i>	troped Gradual setting	285
15.	9	bxxvi	<i>...de ave parens...v</i>	**	79
16.	9'	bxxvi'	<i>Eterne virgo memorie-Eterne virgo mater-[Pes]</i>	motet on a pes	96
17.	9'	bxxvi'	<i>Quam admirabilis-Quam admirabilis-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes	210
18.	10'	bxxvii'	<i>Sol in nube-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes	257
19.	11	bxxix	<i>Loquelis archangeli-[Loquelis archangeli]-Quartus cantus</i>	2+2 v/e motet on a pes	143
20.	11'	bxxix'	<i>Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-A. Post partum virgo^{ic}</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	44

Ob Lat liturg. d. 20 (formerly Auct. F. Inf. i. 3)

21.	12	bxxiii	<i>[.-]-Amor patris presentatur-[.-]</i>	motet on a pes with rondellus	34
22.	12	bxxiii	<i>Munda maria militie</i>	rota	155
23.	12'	bxxiii'	<i>O regina celestis curie-O regina celestis curie-[Pes]</i>	motet on a pes	187
24.	13	bxxviii	<i>[.-]-Sanctorum omnia-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes	241
25.	13'	bxxviii'	<i>...omnipotentia</i>	*	192
26.	13'	bxxviii'	<i>Ave virgo mater dei</i>	rondellus	54
27.	14	bxxxi	<i>Beata supernorum-Benedicta V. Virgo dei genitrix</i>	troped Gradual setting	59
28.	14'	bxxxi'	<i>Alleluia canite-Alleluia canite-Alleluia pascha nostrum</i>	troped Alleluia setting	11
29.	15'	bxxxiii'	<i>Alma iam-Alme matris-Alleluia V. Per te dei genitrix</i>	troped Alleluia setting	31
30.	16'	bxxxiii'	<i>Kyrie fons pietatis-[.-]-[T.]ⁱ</i>	troped Kyrie setting	137
31.	17	bxxxix	<i>[.-]-Fons ortorum-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	102
32.	17'	bxxxix'	<i>Fulget celestis curia-O Petre-Roma gaudetⁱ</i>	rondellus-motet	104
33.	18'	c	<i>...recolet ecclesia Katherine-Virgo sancte Katherine-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	216
34.	19'	ci'	<i>...decus virginutis-[Salve virgo virginum Maria]</i>	troped Gloria setting	84

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI

35.	20	cxxxvi	<i>[.-]-Salve fenestris vire...grantis</i>	**	228
36.	20'	cxxxvi'	<i>[Gaude Maria] plaude-[.-]-Gaude Maria virgo</i>	troped Tract setting	107
37.	21	cxxxviii	<i>[.-]-O regina glorie Maria-[T.]</i>	motet on a pes	188
38.	21'	cxxxviii'	<i>O decus predicantium-[.-]-[Agmina]</i>	cantus firmus motet	170

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 (formerly Ob Hatton 30)

1.	22		<i>[.-]-...profero in te rex-[.-]</i>	motet*	206
2.	22		<i>Salve gemma confessorum, Nicholae-[.-]-[.-]</i>	motet*	229
3.	22'		<i>Pro beati Pauli-O pastor-O preclara-Pes</i>	cantus firmus motet (3+1)	204

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII

1.	36		<i>Pro beati Pauli-O pastor-O preclara-Pes [Tenor Pro patribus]ⁱ</i>	cantus firmus motet (3+1)	203
2.	36'		<i>Te domine laudat-Te dominum clamat-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	271
3.	37		<i>Virginis Marie-Salve gemma-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	283
4.	37'		<i>O debilis O flebilis-Pes-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	169
5.	38		<i>Fulgens stella-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	104
6.	38'		<i>O dulcis iesu-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	171
7.	39		<i>Puellare gremium-Purissima-Pes</i>	v/e motet on a pes	209
8.	39'		<i>Sanctus et eternus-Sanctus</i>	troped Sanctus setting	243

Worcester "Reconstruction II"

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20. (formerly Ob Bodley 862)

1.	23	<i>Dulciffua tua memoria-Precipua michi da gaudia-Tenor</i>	v/e motet on a pes	88
2.	23'	<i>Inviolata integra mater-Inviolata integra mater-Inviolata integra et casta</i>	troped prose setting	134
3.	24'	<i>Spiritus procedens a patre</i>	troped Gloria setting	260
4.	25	<i>Lingua peregrina-[-]-Laqueus</i>	cantus firmus motet	141

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 + WO Add. 68, Fragment XXXV

5.	25'	<i>Alleluia V. Gaude virgo-Alleluia V. Gaude virgo-Alleluia V. Gaude virgo</i>	troped Alleluia setting	21
6.	25'	<i>Alleluia psallat hec familia-Alleluia psallat hec familia-Alleluia concinat</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	17

WO Add. 68, Fragment XXXV

7.	(26')	<i>Peregrina moror errans in patria-[-]-Pes</i>	cantus firmus motet	198
8.	(26')	<i>Rex omnipotentie</i>	*	222

WO Add. 68, Fragment IX

9.	27	<i>Alleluia V. Letabitur....omnes-Alleluia V. Letabitur</i>	troped Alleluia setting	23
10.	27	<i>Alleluia Gaude plaude (V. Judicabunt sancti)</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	15
11.	27'	<i>...nis et gloria in celestis. Alleluia V. Fulgebunt</i>	troped Alleluia setting 160	

WO Add. 68, Fragment IX + Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 (formerly Ob Bodley 826)

12.	28	<i>Alme veneremur-Alleluia V. Justi epulentur-T. Alleluia V. Justi epulentur</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	32
13.	28'	<i>Candens crescū lilium-Candens lilium columbina-Quartus cantusⁱ</i>	motet on a pes	69

WO Add. 68, Fragment XXXV

14.	29	<i>[-]-Alleluia V. O laus sanctorum-Alleluia V. O laus sanctorum</i>	troped Alleluia setting	25
15.	29	<i>Alleluia moduletur: Alleluia V. Veni mater gratie</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	16
16.	29'	<i>Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluia (V. Post partum virgo) ic</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	44
17.	30	<i>Alleluia V. Regis celorum</i>	v/e troped Alleluia setting	27
18.	31	<i>[Sanctus] Unus tamen est divinus</i>	troped Sanctus setting	248
19.	31	<i>Sanctus adonay genitor</i>	troped Sanctus setting	245
20.	31'	<i>Sanctus deus ens ingenitus</i>	troped Sanctus setting	246
21.	32	<i>Sanctus et eternus deus</i>	troped Sanctus setting	243
22.	32'	<i>Sanctus ex quo omnia</i>	troped Sanctus setting	247
23.	32'	<i>Sursum corda elevate</i>	troped Versicle setting	268
24.	33	<i>Salve mater redemptoris-Salve lux-Salve sine spina-Sancta parens</i>	troped Introit setting (3+1)	233
25.	33'	<i>Conditio nature-O natio nephandi-Pes</i>	motet on a pes	72
26.	33'	<i>Loquelis archangeli-[Loquelis archangeli]-Quartus cantusⁱ</i>	v/e motet on a pes	143

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 (formerly Ob Bodley 862)

27.	34	<i>Thomas gemma-Thomas cesus-Primus tenor-Secundus tenorⁱ</i>	v/e motet (2+2)	272
28.	35'	<i>...dans quod vocis</i>	conductus	77
29.	35'	<i>Quem trina polluitⁱ</i>	rondellus-conductus	213

Worcester "Reconstruction III"

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIX

1.	a1	<i>...merenti modo scienti</i>	cantilena	149
2.	a1'	<i>[2-part textless work]</i>		
3.	a1'	<i>[Gloria laus et honor] Christe redemptor</i>	Gloria setting	113
4.	b1	<i>[2-part textless Benedictus setting]</i>		
5.	b1'	<i>3-part textless Sanctus setting</i>	Sanctus setting	242
6.	b1'	<i>Agnus dei</i>	Agnus setting	9
7.	b1'	<i>[Gloria laus et honor tibi]</i>	Gloria setting	114
8.	c1'	<i>[Gloria laus et honor] tibi</i>	Gloria setting	115
9.	c2	<i>...nos sceleris</i>	conductus	167
10.	c2'+b2	<i>[Et in terra pax vol]untatis]</i>	Gloria setting	94
11.	b2'	<i>Regina regnans</i>	v/e conductus	220
12.	a2	<i>...na angelorum agmina</i>	v/e conductus	157
13.	a2	<i>Beata viscera</i>	conductus	61
14.	a2'	<i>Salve rosa florum</i>	v/e conductus	235

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXII

3.	1	(illegible text)	v/e conductus	-
14.	1	<i>Sanctus</i>	Sanctus setting	244
15.	1'	<i>Grata iuvecula</i>	cantilena	118

COMPOSITIONS FOUND IN MISCELLANIES

Lbl Arundel 248 folios 153-155:

<i>O labilis o flebilis</i>	<i>conductus</i>	174
<i>Magdelene laudes plene</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Flos pudicicie flos de virginité</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Angelus ad virginum/Gabriel fram even-kingⁱ</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>pe milde lombe</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Worldes blisⁱ</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Spei vena melle plena</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Jesu cristes milde moder</i>	<i>2-part song</i>	124
<i>Salve virgo virginum/Veine pleine de ducur</i>	<i>3-part conductus</i>	239
<i>Bien deust chanter</i>	<i>monody</i>	

folios 200-201:

<i>Alleluya V. Virga ferax</i>	<i>Alleluya setting</i>	28
<i>Risum fecit sare</i>	<i>conductus</i>	225

Lbl Burney 357

<i>Amor patris et filii^c</i>	<i>conductus</i>	33
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Lbl Cotton Titus A. XXI

<i>Agnus Dei Virtute numinis</i>	<i>Agnus trope</i>	290
<i>Salve virgo singularis</i>	<i>monody</i>	

Lbl Cotton Vesp. A. XVIII

<i>Amor veint tout/Au tens d'este/El Gaudebit^c</i>	<i>motet</i>	35
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Lbl Harley 524

<i>Veri floris sub figura^c</i>	<i>conductus</i>	281
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Lbl Harley 5393

<i>Quid tu vides, Jeremia^c</i>	<i>conductus</i>	214
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Lbl Sloane 1580

<i>Verbo celum quo firmatur</i>	<i>sequence</i>	280
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Llp 457

<i>Miro genere</i>	<i>sequence</i>	152
<i>Astriptens famulos</i>	<i>Agnus trope</i>	38
<i>Mater dei lumen rei</i>	<i>sequence</i>	146
<i>Mortis dira</i>	<i>Agnus trope</i>	153

Ob Bodley 343

<i>Salve mater salvatoris/Spes Maria peccatoris</i>	<i>v/e composition</i>	233
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Ob Douce 139

<i>Foweles in the fruh</i>	<i>2-part English song</i>	103
[Instrumental piece]		
<i>Au queer ay un maus/Ja ne mi reperntiray/Jolietement^c</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman motet</i>	39

Ob Rawlinson D. 1225

<i>Alleluya V. Ave dei genitrix Maria</i>	<i>Alleluya setting</i>	19
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Ob Rawlinson G. 18

<i>Mellis stilla, maris stella^{ic}</i>	<i>reduction of a motet</i>	147
<i>Worldes blis ne last no throweⁱ</i>	<i>monody</i>	

Oce E. 59

<i>Edi be thu</i>	<i>English song</i>	90
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F-Pn fonds français 25408

<i>Omnis carco</i>	<i>monody</i>	
<i>Mordax detracto/Trahis suspiram/[Epiphaniam]</i>	<i>motet</i>	273
<i>Alleluya V. Virga ferax Aaron</i>	<i>Alleluya setting</i>	29

CATALOGUE OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC IN 13th-CENTURY INSULAR SOURCES BY TEXT
INCIPIT

Items are catalogued alphabetically by text incipit, from top part down. Text incipit is followed by source, genre and identification in standard catalogues: for motets, Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*; for *conducti*, Anderson, "Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: A Catalogue Raisonné," and Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus*; for *organa*, Ludwig, *Repertorium*; for works from the "Worcester fragments," Dittmer, *The Worcester Fragments*. Editions and/or relevant literature may be noted where applicable, especially in the case of items which have never been catalogued. Page reference in *RISM BIV* ₁ is given. Incomplete incipits are incorporated into the catalogue; reconstructed incipits are cross-referenced. Most items are fragmentary or incomplete; where a reference to *PMFC* XIV is given, this implies that the item is complete or partially completable.

Abbreviations:

WOR 1 (2, 3): Worcester Reconstruction 1 (2, 3)

* * *

1. *A deserto veniens*

Cjec QB. 1, 11
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with cauda
Concordance: *W*_p, f. 134
RISM, 475; Falck, 1; Anderson, I29.

2. *A laudanda legione V. Ave Maria*

Cjec QB. 1, 2
3-part troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 475; *PMFC* XIV, 69

3. *A nobis*

Ccc 8, 4
Fragmentary 3-part ?*clausula*
RISM, 452; Stevens, "Corpus Christi College, MS 8."

4. *...a quo fecundata*
...archangelorum

Cjec QB. 5, 3
2 fragmentary remaining parts of ?a motet
RISM, 477

5. *A superna paranimphus*

D-Gs Theol. 220g, 2
Part of a motet voice
RISM, 84

6. *Adoremus ergo natum V. Vidimus stellam*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, recto, 3
Fragmentary part of a *rondellus* troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 571; Dittmer, "An English Discantum Volumen."

7. *Age penitentiam*

Cjec QB. 1, 15
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 340'; *W*, f. 164'; *Ma*, f. 65
RISM, 476; Falck, 11; Anderson, H31

8. *Agmina militie celestis omnia*
Agmina militie celestis omnia
[*T. Agmina*]

Ctc O. 2. 1., 10
3-part motet
Continental concordance: *F*, f. 396
RISM, 484; Tischler, 34-1; Gennrich, 532

9. *Agnus dei*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIX
Fragmentary 3-part Agnus setting
RISM, 598; WF 84

10. *Alleluya Ave rosa generosa*

CAC Add. 128/8, 2
3-part Alleluya setting
Sandon, "Fragments of Medieval Polyphony."

11. *Alleluya canite*
Alleluya canite
Alleluya V. Pascha nostrum

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 14'[WOR 1, 28]
3-part troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 549; *PMFC* XIV, 71; WF 27

12. *Alleluya celica rite*
Alleluya celica rite
[*Pes*]

US-PRu Garrett 119/A, 3
3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 818; *PMFC* XIV, 56; Levy, "New Material."

13. *Alleluya Christo jubilemus V. Dies sanctificatus*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, recto, 1
3-part *rondellus* troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 571; *PMFC* XIV, 70; Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen."

14. *Alleluya clare decet V. P[ost partum?]*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, recto, 2
Fragmentary part of a (?*rondellus*) troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 571; Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen."

15. *Alleluya Gaude plaude (V. Judicabunt sancti)*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment IX (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 27 [WOR 2, 10])
3-part voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 556; WF 50

16. *Alleluya moduletur: Alleluya V. Veni mater gratie*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 29 [WOR 2, 15])
3-part voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 558; *PMFC* XIV, App. 19; WF 55

17. *Alleluya psallat hec familia*
Alleluya psallat hec familia
Alleluya concinat hec familia

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 25 [WOR 2, 6])
3-part voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 553/557; *PMFC* XIV, App. 20; WF 46

18. *Alleluya Salve virgo*

CAC Add. 128/8, 1
3-part troped Alleluya setting
Sandon, "Fragments of Medieval Polyphony."

19. *Alleluya V. Ave dei genitrix Maria*

Ob Rawlinson D. 1225
2-part Alleluya setting
RISM, 574; *PMFC* XIV, 62

20. *Alleluya V. Dies sanctificatus*

Cu Ff. 2. 29, 1
3-part Notre Dame *organum*
Concordances: *F*, f. 140; *W*₁, f. 41
RISM, 487; Ludwig, M2

21. *Alleluya V. Gaude virgo*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV
(= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 25 [WOR 2, 5])
Incomplete 3-part troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 553/557; WF 45

22. *Alleluya V. Justus germinabit*

ABu 2379/1, 1
Fragment of a 3-part Notre Dame *organum*
Concordances: *F*, f. 140; *W*₁, f. 41
Ludwig, M 53; Chew, "A Magnus liber Fragment at Aberdeen."

23. *Alleluya V. Letabitur*
...omnes
Alleluya V. Letabitur

WOc Add. 68, Fragment IX (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 27 [WOR 2, 9])
Fragmentary 3-part troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 555; WF 49

24. *Alleluya V. Nativitas 2*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XVIII
3-part Alleluya setting containing Notre Dame *clausula*
RISM, 597; WF 81; (Gennrich, 484).

25. *Alleluya V. O laus sanctorum*
Alleluya V. O laus sanctorum

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 29 [WOR 2, 14])
2 remaining parts of a troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 558; WF 54

26. *Alleluya V. Post partum*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, verso, 2
Fragmentary remains of a troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 572; Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen."

27. *Alleluya V. Regis celorum*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 30 [[WOR 2, 17])
2 fragmentary parts of a voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 559; WF 57

28. *Alleluya V. Virga ferax*

Lbl Arundel 248
Incomplete 2-part Alleluya setting
RISM, 493

29. *Alleluya V. Virga ferax Aaron*

F-Pn fr. 25408
3-part Alleluya setting
RISM, 394; *PMFC* XIV, 63

30. *Alleluya V. Virga florem*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX
Incomplete 2-part Alleluya setting
RISM, 603; WF 100

31. *Alma iam gaudia*
Alme matris dei
Alleluya V. Per te dei genitrix

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 15' [WOR 1, 29]
3-part troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 549; *PMFC* XIV, 72; WF 28

32. *Alme veneremur*
Alleluya V. Justi epulentur
Alleluya V. Justi epulentur

WOc Add. 68, Fragment IX + *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 28
3-part voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 556; *PMFC* XIV, App. 17; WF 52

33. *Amor patris et filii*
Lbl Burney 357
2-part *conductus*
Continental concordance: *I-CFm* Cod. LVI
RISM, 495; Anderson, P30
34. *Amor patris presentatur*
Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 12 [WOR 1, 21]
Fragmentary *rondellus* motet on a *pes*
RISM, 547; WF 20
35. *Amor veint tout*
Au tens d'este
Et gaudebit
Lbl Cotton Vespasian A. XVIII
3-part Anglo-Norman motet
Continental concordances: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 29'; *D-BAs* Lit. 115, f. 5'
RISM, 496; Tischler, 273-2; Gennrich, 335/336; Everist, *Five Anglo-Norman Motets*
36. *Angelus ad virginem subintrans*
1. *Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX, 2;
2. *Cu* Add. 710;
3-part composition with *contrafactum* *Gabriel fram heven-king*
RISM, 494/488; Stevens, "Angelus ad Virginem."
- * *...anges*
Lux et gloria
Kyrieleyson

see 144
37. *Anni favor iubilei*
Cjec QB. 1, 16
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordance: *F*, f. 347'
RISM, 476; Falck, 16; Anderson, J25
38. *Astripotens famulos*
Llp 457
2-part Agnus trope
RISM, 524; *PMFC* XIV, 11
39. *Au queer ay un maus*
Ja ne mi repentirai
Jolietement
Ob Douce 139
3-part Anglo-Norman motet
Continental concordances: *D-BAs* Lit. 115; *F-MO* H. 196, f. 283'; *I-Tr* Vari 42, f. 24
RISM, 536; Gennrich, 868/869; Everist, *Five Anglo-Norman Motets*

40. *Austro terris influente*

Llp 752, 1

2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*

Continental concordances: *F*, f. 299'; *W*₁, f. 112; *W*₂, f. 104'; *Ma*, f. 69; *D-HEu* 2588; *D-SI* HB. 1 Asc. 95; *CH-Zs* C58/275; *CH-ENk* 102

Falck, 26; Anderson, G1

41. *Ave credens baiulo*

Ob Bodley 257, 4

3-part English voice-exchange *conductus*

RISM, 529; *PMFC* XIV, App. 7; Anderson, O34

42. *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris/
[T. Domino]*

Lbl Harley 978, 9

3-part Latin motet, with Anglo-Norman *contrafactum Duce creature*

Continental concordances: *F-Pa* 3517-8, f. 117; *D-BAs* Lit. 115;

F-Pn n. a. f. 13521, f. 369; *D-DS* 3471, f. 8a'; *D-DO* 882, f. 177'; *E-BUlh*, f. 100';

F-Pm 307, f. 206'; *F-MO* H196, f. 89' *W*₂, f. 14; *Ob* Lyell 72, f. 161'

RISM, 507; Tischler, 760; Gennrich, 760a/760d

43. *Ave Maria gratia plena V. Assumpta est*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, verso, 1

Fragmentary 3-part *rondellus* troped Alleluya setting

RISM, 572; Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen."

44a. *Ave magnifica Maria
Ave mirifica maria
Alleluya V. Post partum*

1: *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 11 [WOR 1, 20]);

(2: text only in *Ob* Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, H)

3-part voice-exchange troped Alleluya setting; *contrafactum Alle psallite cum luya* in *F-MO* H. 196, f. 392

RISM, 547; *PMFC* XIV, App. 18a; WF 19; Gennrich, 583a/584;

Dittmer, "An English Discantuum Volumen."

44b. *Ave magnifica Maria
Ave mirifica Maria
Alleluya V. Dulce lignum*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 29 [WOR 2, 16])

RISM 559; WF 56; *PMFC* XIV, App. 18b.

45. *Ave Maria gratia plena*

Occ 497, 6

3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*

RISM, 585; *PMFC* XIV, 24; Anderson, O25

46. *Ave maris stella V. Hodie Maria*

Cjec QB. 1, 1

Incomplete 3-part troped Alleluya setting

RISM, 475

47. *Ave miles de cuius militia*
Ave miles o Edwarde
Quartus cantus
Tenor. Ablue

Lwa 33327, 7
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 526; PMFC XIV, 88
48. *Ave regina celorum ave decus*

Owc 213*, 4
Incomplete 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 595; Anderson, P45
49. *Ave salus hominum*

Owc 213*, 3
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 594; PMFC XIV, 27; Anderson, F26
50. *Ave sanctitatis speculum*

Ob Rawl. C. 400*, 1st roll, recto
Fragmentary part of a *rondellus* troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 572; Dittmer, "An English Discantum Volumen."
51. *Ave substantie biformis*

Ob Bodley 257, 1
Incomplete 3-part English *conductus*
RISM, 528; Anderson, O31
52. *Ave tuos benedic*

Owc 213*, 2
3-part *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordance: F, f. 366
RISM, 594; PMFC XIV, 26; Falck, 38; Anderson, J49
53. *Ave virga decoris*

Owc 213*, 1
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 594; PMFC XIV, 25.
54. *Ave virgo mater dei*

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 13'[WOR 1, 26]
2 fragmentary parts of a *rondellus*
RISM, 548; WF 25
-
55. *B...*

Lbl Harley 5958, f. 32+65, 4
Beginning of a voice
RISM, 511

56. **Barabas dimittitur**
Llp 752, 5
2-part *conductus*
57. **Barbara simplex animo**
Barbara simplex animo
Tenor
US-Cu 654 App., 9
3-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 816; *PMFC* XIV, 80
58. **...batio o gravis**
...pem
D-Gs Theol. 220g, 3
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 84
59. **Beata supernorum**
Benedicta V. Virgo dei genitrix
Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 14 [WOR 1, 27]
2 fragmentary remaining parts of a troped Gradual setting
RISM, 549; WF 26
60. **Beate virginis**
Ob Wood 591, 5
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 283'; *W*, f. 156; *Ma*, f. 54'; *D-HEu* 2588;
F-Pn f. l. 18571; *Lbl* Add. 22604
RISM, 579; Falck, 43; Anderson, H15
61. **Beata viscera**
WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIX [WOR 3,11]
3-part *cantilena* with *cauda*
RISM, 601; *PMFC* XIV, 43; WF 91; Anderson, O47
62. **[Benedic]amus domino**
Csj 138 (F. 1), 1
Incomplete tenor
RISM, 481
63. **Benedicamus domino**
Lbl Harley 5958, f. 32+65, 1
Beginning only of a 4-part *Benedicamus* setting
RISM, 510
64. **Benedicta**
Lbl Harley 5958, f. 32+65, 3
A tenor
RISM, 511

65. *Benedicta domina*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment X [WOR 1, 3]
Upper part of a ?troped Gradual setting
RISM, 542; WF 3

66. *Benedicta V. Virgo dei genitrix*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XVIII
Faint remains of a 3-part troped Gradual setting
RISM, 597; WF 80a

67. *Bis in cuius*

Lbl Harley 5958, f. 32+65, 2
First few notes of ?a motet voice
RISM, 510

68. *Campanis cum cymbalis*
Onoremus dominam
Campanis
Onoremus

Ob Mus. c. 60, 13
4-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 570; PMFC XIV, 59

69. *Candens crescit lilium*
Candens lilium columbina
[Primus tenor]
Quartus cantus

1. WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI + Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20 f. 28'
2. Cpc 228
3. US-NYpm M. 978
4-part motet on a *pes*: WOc has triplum, duplum and quartus;
Cpc 228 has triplum and Primus tenor
RISM, 554; PMFC XIV, 60; WF 53

70. *Christe lux mundi*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment X [WOR 1, 1]
1 remaining voice of a ?troped Kyrie setting
RISM, 542; WF 1

71. *Christi cara mater ave*

US-Cu 654 App., 10
2 voices of a 3-part English voice-exchange *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 816; PMFC XIV, 40

72. *Conditio nature*
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 33' [WOR 2, 25])
2 parts of a 3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 561; WF 65

73. *Creatoris gratia*
[T. Agmina]

US-Cu 654 App., 1
Upper voice and fragmentary tenor of a motet
RISM, 814

74. *Cristus natus de Maria*

Llp 752, 4
2-part *conductus*

75. *Crucifigat omnes*

Cjec QB. 1, 9
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: Cjec QB 1; F, f. 231'; W₁, f. 71; W₂, f. 46' and 138';
E-BUlh, f. 97; Ob Rawl. C. 510 (text); D-Sl HB. I Asc. 95, f. 31; D-Mbs clm. 4660, f. 13
RISM, 475; Falck, 70; Anderson, D3

76. *Crucifixum dominum*
[Tenor - *Crucifixum in carne*]

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XX
2 parts of a troped antiphon verse
RISM, 602; WF 96; Gennrich, 949a.

77. *...dans quod vocis*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 35' [[WOR 2, 28])
Remains of a 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 555; WF 68; Anderson, O42

78. *... David arreptus*

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 2
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part motet
RISM, 483

79. *...de ave parens*
... ♪

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 9 [WOR 1, 15])
2 fragmentary voices
RISM, 545 (no WF listing)

80. *De spineto*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX
Fragmentary 2-part *conductus*
RISM, 602; WF 102

81. *De supernis sedibus*

Lbl Add. 25031 f. 1' (XIII) [WOR 1, 5]
3-part *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 543; PMFC XIV, 31; WF 5;
Anderson, L99

82. *...de virgo semper*
 O spes salus
 [Tenor]

 Ob Mus. c. 60, f. 104
 Incomplete 3-part motet
 Lefferts and Bent, "New Sources"
83. *Descendit de celis V. Tanquam sponsus*

 *Ob Lat. liturg. b. 19 + Ob Rawl. C. 400** (2nd roll), 2
 3-part troped Responsory setting
 RISM, 572; Dittmer, "An English Discantum Volumen,."
84. *...decus virginitatis*
 [Salve virgo virginum Maria]

 WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 19' [WOR 1, 34])
 2 fragmentary parts of a troped Gloria setting
 RISM, 550; WF 33
85. *Deduc Syon*

 Cjec QB. 1, 14
 2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
 Continental concordances: *Cjec QB. 1; F, f. 336; W₁ f. 150'; Ma, f. 83;*
 W₂, f. 93; D-Mbs clm. 4660
 RISM, 476; Falck, 85; Anderson, G8
86. [Domine celestis rex]
 Dona celi factor
 Tenor. Doce
 Quartus cantus

 Lwa 33327, 5
 4-part *cantus firmus* motet
 RISM, 526; PMFC XIV, 86
87. *Dona celi factor*
 [Tenor]

 US-Cu 654 App., 3
 Upper part and fragmentary tenor of a motet
 RISM, 814
- * *Duce creatur*

 contrafactum of Ave gloriosa; see 42
88. *Dulciflua tua memoria*
 Precipua michi da gaudia
 Tenor

 Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 23 [WOR 2, 1]
 3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
 RISM, 552; PMFC XIV, 55; WF 41
-

89. *...e hausit lugens*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 5
Fragmentary remains of a troped Kyrie setting
RISM, 568

* *...e ineffabilis potentie*
Dona celi factor
Tenor. Doce
Quartus cantus

see 86

90. *Edi be thu*

Occ E. 59
2-part composition in English
RISM, 579; *PMFC XIV*, 2

91. *En averil al tens jolifs [no music]*
O christi clementie

Csj 138 (F. 1), 2
Tenor and *duplum* of a motet
RISM, 481

92. *Equitas in curia*

Cgc 820/810
3-part voice-exchange English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 473; *PMFC XIV*, App. 10;
Anderson, O41

93. *Ergo virgo tam beata*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX, 4
Fragmentary 2-part sequence
RISM, 604; WF 105

94. *...et dilectio*

Cjec QB. 5, 1
Fragmentary voice of ?a motet
RISM, 477

95. *[Et in terra pax vol]untatis*

1. *WOc Add.* 68, Fragment XIX [WOR 3, 8];
2. *Ob Mus.* c. 60, 10
3-part Gloria setting
RISM, 600/569; *PMFC XIV*, 44; WF 88

96. *Eterne virgo memorie*
Eterne virgo mater
[Pes]

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob Lat.* liturg. d. 20, f. 9'[WOR 1, 16])
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 546; *PMFC XIV*, 52; WF 15

97. *Fas et nephas ambulant*

Cjec QB. 1, 5
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 225; *D-Mbs* clm. 4660; *Ob* Rawl. C. 510 (text);
D-FUL C11; *F-LYm* 623; *Ccc* 202
RISM, 474; Falck, 119; Anderson, F7

98. *Fecit do*

Ccc 8, 6
Fragmentary 3-part *clausula*
RISM, 453

99. *Felix namque Maria*

Lbl Add. 25031 [WOR 1, 4]
Duplum of a 73-part troped Offertory setting
RISM, 542; WF 4

**100. *...fermo cum timore*
...per te fides
Spirans odor
*Tenor. Kyrie***

Lwa 33327, 1
Remains of a 4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 525

101. *Flos regalis virginalis*

Occ 489/9, 1
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 581; *PMFC* XIV, 28; Anderson, O16

**102. *Fons ortorum*
*Pes***

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 17 [WOR 1, 31]
2 fragmentary parts of a motet on a *pes*
RISM, 550; WF 30

103. *Foweles in the frith*

Ob Douce 139
2-part English composition
RISM, 536; *PMFC* XIV, 3

**104. *Fulgens stella*
*Pes***

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 5 [WOR 1?]
2 fragmentary remaining parts of a
motet on a *pes*
RISM, 563; WF 74

105. Fulget celestis curia
O Petre
Roma gaudet

1. *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 17' [WOR 1, 32]
2. *Onc* 362
3-part *rondellus*-motet
RISM, 550; *PMFC* XIV, 42; WF 31

106. Fulget Nicholaus

Cjec QB. 1, 7
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 219'; *W* *p* f. 76
RISM, 474; Falck, 135; Anderson, E7

*** Gabriel fram even-king**

contrafactum of *Angelus ad virginem*; see 36

107. [Gaude Mar]ia plaude
Gaude Maria virgo

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 20' [WOR 1, 36])
2 fragmentary parts of a troped Tract setting
RISM, 551; WF 35

108. [Gaude] mata Gabriele

Occ 497
Fragmentary voice of ?a Gloria trope
RISM, 586

109. Gaude per quam gaudium

Ob Bodley 257, 6
3-part English *conductus* (end missing)
RISM, 530; *PMFC* XIV, App. 8; Anderson, O36

110. Gaudeat ecclesia

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XX, 2
Fragmentary 3-part *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 601; *PMFC* XIV, 41; WF 94

111. Genitus divinitus

Cjec QB. 1, 12
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 291; *W* *p* f. 158; *Esc* 117*
RISM, 475; Falck, 144; Anderson, I25

112. Gloria in excelsis deo redemptori meo

Cjec QB. 1, 13
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 341; *W* *p* f. 95';
Ma, f. 92
RISM, 476; Falck, 145; Anderson, H1

113. *[Gloria laus et honor Christe redemptor]*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXa [WOR 3, 3]
Almost illegible 3-part Gloria setting
RISM, 597; WF 82a

114. *[Gloria laus et honor tibi]*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXb [WOR 3, 7]
Fragmentary 3-part Gloria setting
RISM, 598; WF 85

115. *[Gloria laus et honor] tibi*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXc [WOR 3, 8]
Fragmentary 3-part Gloria setting
RISM, 598; WF 86

116. *Gloria militie*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 6
Fragmentary 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 568; Anderson, O40

117. *Gloriosa dei mater*

Occ 497, 12
Opening of a 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 586; Anderson, O30

118. *Grata iuvecula*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXII [WOR 3, 15]
3-part cantilena with *cauda*
RISM, 605; *PMFC* XIV, App. 13; WF 109; Anderson, O51

119. *...gratie*
Tenor d[e]...

Cjec QB. 5, 4
2 fragmentary remaining parts of a motet
RISM, 477

120. *...ha mundi gloria Maria*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 7
Remaining part of ?a *rondellus*
RISM, 568

121. *...hac die nobili*
Gaudeamus omnes

Ob Mus. c. 60, 2
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 567

122. *Hec est rosa [=str. 2 of Ortu regis evanescit]*

Llp 752, 2

2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*

Continental concordances: *F*, ff. 216 & 307'; *W*₁ f. 117; *W*₂ f. 101; *Ma*, f. 81
Falck, 256; *Anderson*, G3

123. *...humilis hoc tua per viscera*

Ob Savile 25, 1

2 fragmentary remaining voices

RISM, 577

* *...ia plaude*

see 107

124. *Jesu christes milde moder*

Lbl Arundel 248

2-part English song

RISM, 492; *PMFC* XIV, 1;

125. *Ihesu fili summi patris*

Occ 497, 11

Fragmentary 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*

RISM, 586; *Anderson*, O29

126. *In excelsis gloria*

1. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XX, 1

2. *US-Cu* 654 App., 4

3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*

RISM, 601/814; *PMFC* XIV, 36; *WF* 93

127. *...in lyde joye and blisce*

Ccc 8, 1

End of a 2-part composition in English

RISM, 452

128. *In odoris miro suavio*

In odore fragrant dulcedinis

T. [In odorem]

Occ 497, 5

Fragmentary 3-part motet

Continental concordance: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 107'

RISM, 584; *Gennrich*, 500/501

129. *[In te concipitur]*

Ob Bodley 257, 2

Incomplete 3-part English *conductus*

RISM, 529; *PMFC* XIV, App. 6; *Anderson*, O32

130. *In veritate comperi*
In veritate comperi
T. [Veritatem]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 8
Incomplete 3-part motet
Continental concordance: *F*, f. 398
RISM, 484; Gennrich, 451

131. *...induit*
T.

Omec 248, 1
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 587

132. *Integra inviolata*

Occ 489/9, 3
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 582; *PMFC* XIV, 30; Anderson, O18

133. *Inter choros*
Invictis pueris

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XII, 2
2 fragmentary parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 596; *PMFC* XIV, App. 26; WF 79

134. *Inviolata integra mater*
Inviolata integra mater
Inviolata integra et casta

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 23' [WOR 2, 2]
3-part troped prose setting
RISM, 552; *PMFC* XIV, 68; WF 42

135. *Ista dies celebrari*

Ob Wood 591, 6
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 274'; *W*, f. 159; *Ma*, f. 56
RISM, 579; Falck, 189; Anderson, H30

136. *...karitas*

Omec 248, 2
Fragmentary remains of ?a *rondellus-conductus*
RISM, 587

137. *Kyrie fons pietatis*
Kyrie pater venerande
Tenor

1. *Ob* Mus. c. 60, 9;
2. *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 16' [WOR 1, 30]
3-part troped Kyrie setting (fragmentary in WOR 1)
RISM, 549/568; WF 29

138. *Kyrie rex Marie proles pie*

Occ 497, 2
3-part *rondellus* Kyrie prosula
RISM, 584; *PMFC* XIV, 22

139. *Kyrie Rex virginum amator*

ABu 2379/1, 2
Fragmentary part of a ?tropic Kyrie setting
Chew, "A Magnus liber Fragment at Aberdeen."

140. *Leniter ex merito*

Cjec QB. 1, 6
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 224'; *W*, f. 12 and 74'; *Ob* Rawl. C. 510 (text).
RISM, 474; Falck, 195; Anderson, E2

141. *Lingua peregrina*
Laqueus

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 25 [WOR 2, 2]
2 fragmentary remaining parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 553; WF 44

142. *...lix vita*
[...lix vita]
[Tenor]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 1
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part motet
RISM, 483

143. *Loquelis archangeli*
Loquelis archangeli
Quartus cantus

1. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 11 [WOR 1, 19])
2. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 33' [WOR 2, 26])
3 fragmentary parts of a voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 547/562; WF 18/66

144. *Lux et gloria regis celici*
Kyrieleyson

1. *Ccl*, 2;
2. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment X (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 1' [WOR 1, 2])
Fragmentary 3-part troped Kyrie setting
RISM, 542; Lefferts and Bent, "New Sources"; WF 2

145. *... Marie eleyson*

Occ 497, 1
Remaining voice of a troped Kyrie setting
RISM, 583

146. Mater dei lumen rei

2-part sequence
RISM, 512; *PMFC* XIV, 12

*** ...mata Gabriele**

see 108.

147. Mellis stilla, maris stella

1. *Ob* Rawlinson G. 18
2. *Ccc* 8, f. 256
2-part reduction of a motet
Continental concordances: *F-BSM* 119; *F-CA* A 410; *F-MO* H. 196; *F-Pa* 135;
F-Pa 3517-3518; *D-BAs* Lit. 115; *F-Pn* n. a. f. 13521; *E-BULh*; *Ob* Lyell 72;
F-Pn lat. 11266.
RISM, 575; Tischler, 217-1; Gennrich, 808
NB presence in *Ccc* 8 confirmed.

148. Memor esto tuorum

Occ 497, 4
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 584; *PMFC* XIV, 23; Anderson, O24

149. ...merenti modo scienti

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXa [WOR 3, 1]
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 597; WF 82

**150. Miles Christi
Plorate cives anglie**

Csj 138 (F. 1), 4
2 incomplete parts of a motet
RISM, 481

**151. Mirabilis deus
Ave Maria
Ave Maria**

Ob Lat. liturg. b. 19 + *Ob* Rawl. C. 400* (= 2nd roll), 1
3-part ?*cantus firmus* motet
Barker-Benfield, "New Acquisitions."

152. Miro genere

Llp 457
2-part sequence
RISM, 512; *PMFC* XIV, 10

153. Mortis dira

Llp 457
2-part Agnus trope
RISM, 512; Gillingham,
"Lambeth Palace MS 457."

154. *...mpendia*
 O homo de pulvere
 [T. In seculum]

Lbl Harley 5958, f. 22, 2
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 510; Gennrich, 212a/212b

155. *Munda maria miltie*

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 12 [WOR 1, 22]
3-part *rota*
RISM, 548; *PMFC* XIV, 35; WF 21

156. *Mundum salvificans*

Cgc 803/807, 1
2-part troped Agnus setting
RISM, 472; *PMFC* XIV, 13

-
157. *...na angelorum agmina*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXa [WOR 3, 10]
3-part voice-exchange English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 600; WF 90; Anderson, O46

158. *...natum quo salvantur*

Lbl Add. 25031 (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 6'([WOR 1, 8])
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 543

159. *Ne dampnemur*

Ccc 8, 5
Incomplete upper voice of a *clausula*
RISM, 453

160. *...nis et gloria in celestis. Alleluya V. Fulgebunt*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment IX
Troped Alleluya setting
RISM, 556; WF 51

161. *...nobi ...ctoris*

Cjec QB. 5, 6
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 478

162. *Nobili precinitur*
 Flos de virga
 T. Proles Marie

Lbl Harley 5958, f. 22, 1
3-part motet
Continental concordance: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 104'
RISM, 509; Gennrich, 692/693

163. ...*nobilis filium*
 Beata viscera

Lbl Harley 5958, f. 32+65, 3
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 510

164. ...*no funere*

D-Gs Theol. 220g, 1
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 84

* ...*nor*

see 270

165. ...*nos sceleris*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXc [WOR 3, 7]
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 599; WF 87

166. *Novi sideris lumen resplenduit*

Cjec QB. 1, 17
2-part *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 476; *PMFC* XIV, 15; Anderson, P1

167. *O benigna preces audi*

Ob Wood 591, 4
Incomplete 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 579; Anderson, O21

168. *O crux ave spes unica*

Cjec QB. 1, 19
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 346; *W*, f. 103'; *Ma*, f. 97
RISM, 475; Falck, 230; Anderson, H4

169. *O debilis O flebilis*
 Pes
 Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 4 [WOR 1?]
Fragmentary 3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 563; *PMFC* XIV, 48; WF 76

170. *O decus predicantium*
 [*Agmina*]

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 21' [WOR 1, 38])
2 fragmentary parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 551; WF 37; Gennrich, 540c

171. *O dulcis iesu*
Pes

Woc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 6 [WOR 1?]
2 fragmentary parts of a motet on a *pes*
RISM, 564; WF 75
172. *O felix mortale*

Cgc 803/807, 2
2-part troped Agnus setting
RISM, 472
173. *O Judea et Jerusalem V. Constantes*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 3
Fragmentary voice of a ?troped Responsory setting
RISM, 567
174. *O labilis O flebilis*

Lbl Arundel 248
2-part *conductus*
RISM, 492; *PMFC* XIV, 8; Anderson, P29
175. *O laudanda virginitas*

Ob Wood 591, 3
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 578; *PMFC* XIV, 32; Anderson, O20
176. *O manet lux*

Cjec QB. 5, 2
Fragmentary voice of ?a motet
RISM, 477
177. *O Maria singularis*
[O Maria singularis]
[Tenor]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 6
3-part ?*cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 484; *PMFC* XIV, 75
178. *O Maria stella maris*

Occ 497, 10
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 586; *PMFC* XIV, App. 4; Anderson, O28
179. *O Maria stella maris*
Ihesu fili summi patris
[Pes]

Occ 497, 9
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 586; *PMFC* XIV, 46

180. *O Maria vas munditie*
[T. Agmina]
- US-Cu 654 App., 2
2 fragmentary parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 814
181. *O Maria virgo pia*
- WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX, 5
2-part sequence
RISM, 603; *PMFC* XIV, App. 1; WF 101
182. *O mores perditos*
- D-Gs Theol. 220g, 4
2 fragmentary voices of a motet
RISM, 84
183. *O mors moreris*
O vita vera
Quartus cantus
Tenor. Mors
- Lwa 33327, 3
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 525-6
184. *O nobilis nativitas*
O mira Dei misericordia
O decus virginem
Tenor. Apparuit
- Lwa 33327, 2
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 525; *PMFC* XIV, 85
185. *O paraclete regens*
- Ccl, 14
3-part tropic Kyrie motet
Lefferts and Bent, "New Sources."
186. *O quam glorifica*
O quam beata
O quam felix
Pes
- WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 10 [WOR 1, 10])
4-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 544; *PMFC* XIV, 58; WF 10
187. *O regina celestis curie*
O regina celestis curie
- Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 12' [WOR 1, 23]
2 fragmentary parts of a motet
RISM, 548; WF 22

188. O regina glorie Maria

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 21 [WOR 1, 37])
2 fragmentary parts of a motet on a *pes*
RISM, 551; *WF* 36

**189. O sancte Bartholomee
O sancte Bartholomee
O Bartholomee miseris**

Csj 138 (F. 1), 3
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 481; *PMFC* XIV, 45

190. O sponsa dei electa

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX, 3
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 602; *PMFC* XIV, 21; *WF* 99; Anderson, O49

**191. O venie vena
Illumina morti**

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 8' [WOR 1, 13])
2 parts of a 3-part *rondellus*-motet on a *pes*
RISM, 545; *WF* 13

192. ...omnipotentia

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 13' [WOR 1, 25]
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 548; *WF* 24

**193. Opem nobis
Salve Thoma
Quartus cantus
Tenor. Pastor cesus**

Lwa 33327, 6
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 526; *PMFC* XIV, 87

**194. Orbis pium primordium
Orbis pium primordium
O bipartitum**

US-Cu 654 App., 8
3-part *rondellus*-motet
RISM, 816; *PMFC* XIV, 39

*** Ortu regis evanescit**

see 122

195. Paranympheus salutatur

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX, 5
Fragmentary 2-part sequence
RISM, 604; *WF* 106

196. Pater noster qui es in celis

Llp 752, 3

2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*

Continental concordances: *F*, f.125 (3 parts); *W*₁ f.113; *W*₂ f.112'; *Ma*, f.116; *D-F* *Fragm. lat.* VI 41, f. D-D'.
Falck, 265; *Anderson*, G2

197. Patris superni gratia

US-Cu 654 App., 7

3-part voice-exchange motet

RISM, 815; *PMFC* XIV, 38

198. Peregrina moror errans in patria

Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 26' [WOR 2, 7])

2 parts of a *cantus firmus* motet

RISM, 558

*** Perspice Christicola**

contrafactum of *Sumer is icumen in*; see 266

199. Porta salutis Maria

Occ 497, 3

Fragmentary 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*

RISM, 584; *Anderson*, O23

200. ...precibus sepius

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX

Fragmentary remains of a *conductus*

RISM, 603; *WF* 104

201. Premii dilatio

Cjec QB. 1, 8

3-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*

Continental concordances: *F*, f. 206'; *W*₁ f. 67'; *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510 (text)

RISM, 474; *Falck*, 270; *Anderson*, E3

202. Primo tempore alleviata

Simple 2-part composition

RISM, 516

203. Pro beati Pauli

O pastor

O preclara

Pes [Tenor Pro patribus]

1. *WOc* Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 1 [WOR 1?]

2. *Lwa* 33327, 4

4-part *cantus firmus* motet

RISM, 562/526; *PMFC* XIV, 84; *WF* 70; *Gennrich*, 405a/405b/405c

204. *Pro beati Pauli*
O pastor
O preclara
Pes

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 22 [WOR 1, 41]
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 552; WF 40

205. *Procruans odium*

Cjec QB. 1, 3
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 226; *Ma*, f. 124; *D-Mbs* lat. 5539; *D-Mbs* clm. 4660
RISM, 474; Falck, 274; Anderson, E9

206. *...profero in te rex*

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 22 [WOR 1, 39]
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 552; WF 38

207. *Prolis eterne*
Psallat mater
Pes

Lbl Add. 25031 [WOR 1, 6]
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 543; *PMFC* XIV, 54; WF 6

208. *Psallat chorus in novo*
Eximie pater
Tenor. Aptatur

Lwa 33327, 8
3-part motet
Continental concordance: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 98'
RISM, 526; Gennrich, 723/724

209. *Puellare gremium*
Purissima
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII
3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 564; *PMFC* XIV, 49; WF 76; Gennrich, 949b/949c

-
210. *Quam admirabilis et venerabilis*
Quam admirabilis et venerabilis
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 9' [WOR 1, 17])
3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 546; *PMFC* XIV, 52; WF 16

211. *Quatuor ex partibus*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 14
Incomplete ?motet voice
RISM, 570

212. *Quem non capit*
...ni genitrix
Pes

Lbl Add. 25031 (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 5 [WOR 1, 7])
Fragmentary 3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 543; WF 7

213. *Quem trina polluit*

1. *DRu* Sel. 13, 1
2. *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 35' [WOR 2, 29])
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
completable only from both sources together
RISM, 490/555; *PMFC* XIV, 34; WF 69; Anderson, O43

214. *Quid tu vides, Jeremia*

Lbl Harley 5393
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 234'; *W*_p f. 72; *W*₂ f. 42; *Ob* Rawl. C. 510, f. 13' (text).
Falck, 287; Anderson, D4

215. *Quis tibi christe meritas*

Occ 497, 7
3-part *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordance: *W*₂ f. 40'
RISM, 585; *PMFC* XIV, App. 2; Falck, 290; Anderson, F33

216. *...recolet ecclesia Katerine*
Virgo sancte Katerina
Pes

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 18'
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 550; WF 32

217. *Regina clementie*
[Regina clementie]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 3
2 parts of ?a motet
RISM, 483

218. *Regina regnans*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXb [WOR 3, 9]
Incomplete 3-part voice-exchange English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 600; *PMFC* XIV, App. 11; WF 89;
Anderson, O45

219. *Regis aula regentis*

1. *US-PRu* Garrett 119/A, 1
2. *Lbl* Add. 24198)
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 817; Levy, "New Material."

220. *Regnum sine termino*
Regnum tuum

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XII, 3
2 parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 597; WF 80

221. *Rex eterne glorie*

Cgc 803/807, 3
2-part troped Agnus setting
RISM, 472; *PMFC* XIV, 14

222. *Rex omnipotentie*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 26' [WOR 2, 8])
1 part only
RISM, 558; WF 48

223. *Rex omnium lucifluum*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 11
Fragmentary 3-part troped Gloria setting
RISM, 569

224. *...ria misera*
Tenor

Cjec QB. 5, 8
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 478

225. *Risum fecit Sare*

Lbl Arundel 248
2-part *conductus*
RISM, 493; *PMFC* XIV, 9

226. *...salvatoris*
[Tenor]

Ob Savile 25, 3
2 fragmentary remaining voices of a motet
RISM, 577

227. *S[alve Symonus]*
Tenor de Salve Symonus

Cjec QB. 5, 7
2 fragmentary voices of a motet on a *pes*
RISM, 478

228. *Salve fenestris vitre*
...grantis

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 20 [WOR 1, 35])
2 fragmentary voices
RISM, 550; WF 34

229. *Salve gemma confessorum, Nicholae*

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 22 [WOR 1, 41])
Fragmentary voice
RISM, 552; WF 39

230. *Salve mater gratie*
Dou way Robin

1. *US-PRu* Garrett 119/B, 1 (*Veni mater gracie*)
2. *Lbl* Cotton Frag. XXIX, 1
Motet on an English tenor
RISM, 818/494; Dobson and Harrison, 196; Levy, "New Material."

231. *Salve mater misericordie*

1. *Ob* Wood 591, 1
2. *Occ* 489/9, 2
3-part English *rondellus-conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 579/582; *PMFC* XIV, 33; Anderson, O17

232. *Salve mater redemptoris*
Salve lux
Salve sine spina
Sancta parens

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 33 [WOR 2, 24])
4-part troped Introit setting
RISM, 561; *PMFC* XIV, 74; WF 64

233. *Salve mater salvatoris*
Spes Maria peccatoris

Ob Bodley 343
Simple 2-part voice-exchange composition
RISM, 531; *PMFC* XIV, 6

234. *Salve porta solatium*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXX, 2
1 fragmentary part of a sequence
RISM, 603; WF 103

235. *Salve rosa florum*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXa [WOR 3, 12]
3-part voice-exchange English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 601; *PMFC* XIV, App. 13; WF 92; Anderson, O48

236. *Salve rosa venustatis*

Ob Wood 591, 2
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 579; *PMFC* XIV, App. 9; Anderson, O22

237. *Salve sancta parens christis mater*
[*Salve sancta parens christis mater*]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 7
2 voices of a troped Introit setting
RISM, 484
238. *Salve sancta parens virgo*
Salve sancta parens virgo
Salve sancta parens enixa

1. WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXI (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 7 [WOR 1, 9]);
2. *Ob* Mus. c. 60, 1
4-part troped Introit setting
RISM, 544; PMFC XIV, 67; WF 9
239. *Salve virgo virginum*

Lbl Arundel 248
3-part *conductus* with Anglo-Norman *contrafactum* *Veine pleine de ducur*
RISM, 492; PMFC XIV, 19a; Anderson, O14
240. *Sancte ingenite genitor*

Cu Ff. 2. 29, 3
3-part troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 488; PMFC XIV, 65
241. *Sanctorum omnia*
Pes

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 24 [WOR 1, 24]
2 fragmentary voices of a voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 548; WF 23
242. [*Sanctus*] (*textless*)

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIXb [WOR 3, 3]
Fragmentary 3-part Sanctus setting
RISM, 598; WF 83
243. *Sanctus et eternus*
Sanctus

1. WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 8;
2. WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 32 [WOR 2, 21])
2 fragmentary voices of a troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 562/560; WF 77/61
244. *Sanctus*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXII [WOR 3, 14]
3-part Sanctus setting
RISM, 604; PMFC XIV, 66; WF 108
245. *Sanctus Adonay genitor*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 31 [WOR 2, 19])
2 fragmentary voices of a troped Sanctus stting
RISM, 559; WF 59

246. *Sanctus Deus ens ingenitus*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 31' [WOR 2, 20])
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 560; WF 60

247. *Sanctus Ex quo omnia*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 32' [WOR 2, 22])
2 fragmentary parts of a troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 561; WF 62

248. *Sanctus Sanctorum exultatio*

Cu Ff. 2. 29, 2
Incomplete 3-part troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 487

249. *Sanctus Unus tamen est divinus*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 31 [WOR 2, 18])
2 fragmentary parts of a troped Sanctus setting
RISM, 559; WF 58

250. *...scit ortu solis*
...libate floruit

US-PRu Garrett 119/B, 2
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part motet
RISM, 819; Levy, "New Material."

251. *...semper pia vocis*

Ob Bodley 257, 3
End of a 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 529; Anderson, O33

252. *Senator regis curie*
Primus pes
Secundus Pes

1. WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 8 [WOR 1, 11]);
2. *D-Gs* Theol. 220g, 5
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 544/84; *PMFC* XIV, 50; WF 11

253. *Si lingua lota*
[M]ors amar

US-PRu Garrett 119/A, 5
2 fragmentary parts of a motet
RISM, 818; Levy, "New Material."

254. *Si mundus viveret*

Cjec QB. 1, 4
3-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 226'; *Ma*, f. 127'; *Ob* Rawlinson C. 510 (text)
RISM, 474; Falck, 327; ; Anderson, E10

255. *Sine macula profert*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 8
1 incomplete part
RISM, 568

256. *Singularis et insignis*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX, 1
Incomplete 2-part *conductus*
RISM, 602; *PMFC* XIV, App. 14; WF 97

257. *Sol in nube*
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 10' [WOR 1, 18])
Fragmentary 3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 546; WF 17

258. *Spiritus et alme or]phanorum*

Ob Mus. c. 60, 12
Incomplete 4-part tropic Gloria setting
RISM, 569; *PMFC* XIV, App. 15

259. *Spiritus et alme orphanorum*
Gaude virgo salutata
Gabriele

1. *US-Cu* 654 App., 5
2. *Lwa* Box 3, item 1
3-part troped Gloria setting
RISM, 815; *PMFC* XIV, 73

260. *Spiritus procedens a patre*

Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 24' [WOR 2, 3]
2 fragmentary voices of a troped Gloria setting
RISM, 553; WF 43

261. *Sponsa rectoris*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXIX, 2
2-part *conductus*
RISM, 602; *PMFC* XIV, 64; WF 98

262. *Stella maris nuncuparis*

US-Cu 654 App., 6
3-part *rondellus-conductus*
RISM, 815; *PMFC* XIV, 37

263. *Stilla mellis vellus rosiflorum*
[*Stilla mellis vellus rosiflorum*]
[*Tenor*]

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 5
Fragmentary 3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 484

264. *Stillat in stellam radium*

F-Pn fr. 25408
2-part *conductus*
RISM, 394; *PMFC* XIV, 7;; Anderson, P31

265. *...suavitas*

Ccc 8, 7
Fragmentary remains of a *clausula*
RISM, 453

266. *Sumer is icumen in*

Lbl Harley 978, 11
Multiple-voice *rota* on a voice-exchange *pes* with *contrafactum Perspice Christicola*
RISM, 507-8; *PMFC* XIV, 4

267. *Super te jerusalem*
Sed fulsit virginitas
Primus tenor [Dominus]
Secundus tenor

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XX, 3
4-part *cantus firmus* motet
Continental concordance: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 105'
RISM, 602; *PMFC* XIV, 83; WF 95; Gennrich, 47/48

268. *Sursum corda elevate*

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXXV (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 32' [WOR 2, 23])
2 fragmentary parts of a troped Versicle setting
RISM, 561; WF 63

269. *[T. Benedica]mus domino*

Csj 138 (F. 1)
Motet tenor
RISM, 481

270. *[Te]nor*

ABu 2379/1, 3
End of a tenor voice
Chew, "A *Magnus liber* Fragment at Aberdeen."

271. *Tenor ...gina*

Cjec QB. 5, 5
Fragmentary tenor voice
RISM, 477

272. *Te domine laudat*
Te dominum clamat
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 2 [WOR 1?]
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 562; *PMFC* XIV, 47; WF 71; Gennrich, 528a/528b

273. *Thomas gemma*
Thomas cesus
[Primus tenor]
[Secundus tenor]

1. US-PRu Garrett 119/A, 4;
2. Ob Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 34 [WOR 2, 27];
3. Cgc 512/543
4-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 818/554/469; PMFC XIV, 61; WF 67; Levy, "New Material."

274. *Trahis suspirum*
Mordax detractio
[Epiphaniam]

F-Pn fr. 25408
3-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 394; PMFC XIV, 76

275. *Tota pulchra es*
Anima mea liquefacta
[Pes]

1. US-PRu Garrett 119/A, 2;
2. Lbl Harley 978 index
3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 818; PMFC XIV, 57; Levy, "New Material."

276. *Transit nature semitas*

Occ 497, 8
3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 585; PMFC XIV, App. 3; Anderson, O27

277. *Tu capud ecclesie*
Tu es Petrus
T. [In veritate]

DRu Sel. 13, 2
3-part *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 491; PMFC XIV, 78

278. *...tuum natum nos iuvare*

Ob Bodley 257, 5
End of a 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 530; Anderson, O35

279. *Ut recreatur*
Secundus Tenor

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XII
2 parts of a *cantus firmus* motet
RISM, 596; WF 78

* *Veine pleine de ducur*

contrafactum of *Salve virgo virginum*; see 239

* *Veni mater gracie*

see 230

280. *Verbo celum quo firmatur*

Lbl Sloane 1580
2-part *conductus*
RISM, 512; *PMFC* XIV, 5

281. *Veri floris sub figura*

2-part Notre Dame *conductus*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 229; *W*₁ f. 11'; *W*₂ f. 39'; *Ma*, f. 129';
D-Sl HB. I Asc. 95, f. 29'; *CH-SGs* 383 p. 175; *Ob* Rawl. C. 510, f. 17' (text);
E-TO C. 97, 81'; *F-CHR* 190, f. 158'; *F-Pn* lat. 4880, f. 84'; *Hortus deliciarum*
RISM, 505; Falck, 369; Anderson, C1

282. *Virga Jesse regio*

Ob Wood 591, 7
2-part Notre Dame *conductus* with *cauda*
Continental concordances: *F*, f. 314'; *W*₁ f. 157
RISM, 579; Falck, 383; Anderson, I24

283. *Virginis Marie*
Salve gemma
Pes

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XIII, 3
3-part motet on a *pes*
RISM, 563; *PMFC* XIV, 77; *WF* 72

284. *Virgo decus castitatis*
Virgo decus castitatis
Alleluya

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 9
3-part motet
Continental concordance: *F-MO* H. 196, f. 96
RISM, 484; *PMFC* XIV, App. 24; Gennrich, 583

285. *Virgo parvifilium V. [Virgo dei] genitrix*
Quem continens

WOc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 9 [*WOR* 1, 14])
2 fragmentary parts of a troped Gradual setting
RISM, 545; *WF* 14

286. *Virgo que fructifero*
T. Virgo dei genitrix

CAC Add. 128/62
3-part troped Gradual setting

287. *Virgo regalis fidei*
[*Virgo regalis fidei*]
Pes

Woc Add. 68, Fragment XXVIII (= *Ob* Lat. liturg. d. 20, f. 8' [WOR 1, 12])
3-part voice-exchange motet on a *pes*
RISM, 545; *PMFC* XIV, 51; WF 12

288. *Virgo rosa flos radicis*

Occ 489/9, 4
Incomplete 3-part English *conductus* with *cauda*
RISM, 582; Anderson, O19

289. *Virgo stillicidio fecunda*
Virgo

Ob Savile 25, 2
2 parts of a motet
RISM, 577

290. *Virtute numinis*

Lbl Cotton Titus A. XXI
3-part tropic Agnus setting
RISM, 495; *PMFC* XIV, 20

291. *...virtutum spolia*

Ctc 0. 2. 1., 4
Fragmentary remains of a 3-part motet
RISM, 484

292. *Volez oyer le castoy*

Ccc 8, 3
3-part Anglo-Norman motet
RISM, 452; Everist, *Five Anglo-Norman Motets*

293. *Worldes blisce have god day*
[*Benedicamus Domino*]

Ccc 8, 2
2 parts of a motet
RISM, 452

Monophonic songs surviving in polyphonic sources

<i>Ante thronum regentis</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 13
<i>Ave gloriosa virginum regina</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 5
<i>Bien deust chanter</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Arundel 248
<i>Dum Maria credidit fide</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 4
<i>Eterni numinis</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 12
<i>Felix sanctorum chorus</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 10
<i>Flos pudicitie/Flur de virginité</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Arundel 248
<i>Gaude salutata</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 14
<i>Magdalene laudes plene</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Arundel 248
<i>Primum fuit gaudium</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 3
<i>Regina clemencie</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 2
<i>Samson dux fortissime</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Harley 978, 1
<i>Spei vena</i>	<i>Lbl</i> Arundel 248
<i>Worldes blisce ne last</i>	<i>Ob</i> Rawlinson G. 18
<i>pe milde lombe</i>	Arundel 248
	<i>Arundel 248</i>

Items in polyphonic sources with text only surviving:

Alleluya dulci cum armonia V. Fit Leo

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, L
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

Alleluya Ave Maria ave Mater V. Nativitas

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, I
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

Ave magnifica-Ave mirifica-Alleluya V. Post Partum

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, H (see 42)
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

Alleluya musica canamus V. Hic Franciscus

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, M
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

Fulget dies

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, N
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

In conspectu

Ob Rawlinson C. 400*, booklet, K
Troped Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

Ve[ra] fides geniti

Cjec QB. 1
?(Troped) chant setting

Listing by Style

- 1) by number of parts e.g. 2-part composition (only where determinable)
- 2) by genre e.g. *conductus*; motet
- 3) by subgenre e.g. English *conductus*; motet on a *pes*
- 4) by musical technique e.g. Alleluya setting with *rondellus*

a) Two-part compositions

1 7 19 28 30 33 37 38 40 56 60 74 80 85 90 93 103 111 112 122 124 127 135 146 147 152 153 156 166
168 172 174 181 195 196 202 221 225 233 256 261 264 280 281 282

b) Three-part compositions

2 3 8 9 10 11 12 13 15 16 17 18 20 21 22 23 24 29 31 32 35 36 39 41 42 43 44 45 46 48 49 51 52 53 57
61 66 71 72 75 77 78 81 82 83 88 92 95 96 97 98 99 101 105 106 109 110 113 114 115 116 117 118 125
126 128 129 130 132 134 137 138 140 142 144 148 151 155 157 162 165 167 169 175 177 178 179 185
189 190 191 194 197 199 201 205 207 208 209 210 212 213 214 215 216 218 219 223 231 235 238 239
240 242 244 248 250 251 252 254 257 259 262 263 272 274 275 276 277 278 283 284 286 287 288 290
291 292

c) Four-part compositions

47 63 68 69 86 100 183 184 186 193 203 204 232 238 258 267 273

I: CONDUCTI

a) English conducti, including *rondellus-conducti*

41 45 48 49 51 53 71 77 81 92 101 109 110 116 117 125 126 129 132 136 148 157 165 167 175 178 190
199 213 218 219 231 235 236 251 262 276 278 288

b) "Notre-Dame" *conducti*

1 7 37 40 60 75 85 97 106 111 112 122 135 140 168 196 201 205 214 254 281 282

c) Simple *conducti* and sequences

33 56 74 80 93 146 152 174 181 195 200 221 234 239 256 261 264 280

d) Other *conducti*

52 66 215

II: MOTETS

a) Motets on a *pes*

12 34 68 69 72 88 96 102 104 143 169 171 179 186 188 189 191 207 209 210 212 216 227 241 252 257
263 272 273 275 284 287

b) Motets on a *cantus firmus*

47 57 88 100 133 141 151 170 177 180 183 184 193 198 203 204 220 267 274 277 279

c) Motets on a repeating liturgical tenor

8 35 39 42 73 128 130 154 162 208 284

III: CHANT SETTINGS AND TROPED CHANT SETTINGS

a) of the Introit

232 237 238

b) of the Kyrie

70 89 100 137 138 139 144 145 185

c) of the Gloria

84 95 108 113 114 115 223 258 259 260

d) of the Gradual

59 65 66 285 286

e) of the Alleluya

2 6 10 11 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 43 44 46 50 160

f) of a Tract

107

g) of the Offertory

99

h) of the Sanctus

240 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249

i) of the Agnus dei

9 38 153 156 172 221 290

j) of the *Benedicamus Domino*

63 293

k) of Responsories

83 173

l) of a Versicle

268

Notre-Dame *organa*

20 22

Ci: Works with *Rondellus*

6 13 14 34 43 50 54 81 101 105 110 120 126 132 136 138 175 191 194 213 219 231 262

Cii: Works with voice-exchange

12 15 16 17 27 31 41 44 71 88 92 143 157 186 197 209 210 218 233 235 241 257 266 274 287

Finding-list of lower-voice incipits

<i>...archangelorum</i>	4
<i>...grantis</i>	228
<i>...libate floruit</i>	250
<i>...ni genitrix</i>	212
<i>...omnes</i>	23
<i>...pem</i>	58
<i>..per te fides</i>	99
<i>...p</i>	79
<i>[Agmina]</i>	170
<i>[Benedicamus domino]</i>	293
<i>[Epiphaniam]</i>	274
<i>[M]ors amar</i>	253
<i>[T. In seculum]</i>	154
<i>[T. Agmina]</i>	8, 73, 180
<i>Agmina militie celestis omnia</i>	8
<i>Alleluya</i>	284
<i>Alleluya concinat hec familia</i>	17
<i>Alleluya V. Dulce lignum</i>	44
<i>Alleluya V. Pascha nostrum</i>	11
<i>Alleluya V. Post partum virgo</i>	44
<i>Alleluya V. Justi epulentur</i>	32
<i>Alleluya V. Per te dei genitrix</i>	31
<i>Alme matris dei</i>	31
<i>Anima mea liquefacta</i>	275
<i>Au tens d'este</i>	35
<i>Ave Maria</i>	151
<i>Ave miles O Edwarde</i>	48
<i>Ave mirifica maria</i>	44
<i>Beata viscera</i>	163
<i>Benedicamus Domino</i>	269
<i>Benedicta V. Virgo dei genitrix</i>	59
<i>Candens lilium columbina</i>	69
<i>Dona celi factor</i>	85
<i>Dou way Robin</i>	230
<i>Et gaudebit</i>	35
<i>Eterne virgo mater</i>	95
<i>Eximie pater</i>	208
<i>Flos de virga</i>	162
<i>Gabriele</i>	259
<i>Gaude Maria virgo</i>	106
<i>Gaude virgo salutata</i>	259
<i>Gaudeamus omnes</i>	121
<i>Ihesu fili summi patris</i>	179
<i>Illumina morti</i>	191
<i>In odore fragrant dulcedinis</i>	128
<i>Invictis pueris</i>	133
<i>Inviolata integra et casta</i>	134
<i>Ja ne mi repentirai</i>	39
<i>Jolietement</i>	39
<i>Kyrie pater venerande</i>	137
<i>Kyrieleyson</i>	144
<i>Laqueus</i>	141
<i>Mordax detractio</i>	274
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